

THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

SUMMING UP.

BEFORE we close the lengthened series of articles which has been devoted to an examination of the principle of a church establishment, we deem it expedient to present a short recapitulation of our labours, and to exhibit in one view a general outline of the evil, the details of which have been one by one submitted to the notice of our readers. It will be remembered that, in our opening address, we thus described the primary object of the *Nonconformist*: "To show that a national establishment of religion is essentially vicious in its constitution, philosophically, politically, and religiously—to bring under public notice the innumerable evils of which it is the parent—to arouse men, and more especially those who avowedly and on religious grounds repudiate it, from the fatal apathy with which they regard its continuance and extension—to ply them with every motive which ought to prevail upon them to come forward, and combine and act for an equitable and peaceable severance of church and state; this is the great design of the projectors of this paper."

A part of this design, and that perhaps the most important, we have ever since been engaged in working out. The rest we hope to accomplish in due time.

Our first business was with dissenters. They had been long occupied in seeking a "redress of grievances." Their efforts had signally, we may say with truth, disgracefully failed. We set ourselves, therefore, at the outset of our career, to urge upon them the adoption of a bolder course. The separation of church and state, as it was their real object, so, in our judgment, it was their proper, their right noble mission. That they had been unfaithful to the solemn trust committed to them, we ascribed to the apathy of dissenting ministers. We examined and exposed the fallacy of those pleas usually put forward in defence of their inaction. Upon the responsibility of the great body of dissenting divines, we largely insisted, and endeavoured to rouse their zeal by demonstrating the vigour of the voluntary principle, especially where, as in heathen lands, it had scope for free and unfettered exercise. The severance of the union now subsisting between church and state, we held to be a practical question, not a mere abstraction, and the advantages of firm adherence and prompt obedience to principle in preference to expediency we proved to be incalculable.

The ground having been thus prepared, we entered upon the political aspects under which a state church may be properly viewed—what is practically involved in the notion of separation, and what right the nation has to dispose at pleasure of ecclesiastical revenues. This done, we discussed the evils of which it is the prolific parent. They are neither few nor small. The church of England, as the mere tool of our aristocracy, has been in all past times, and is at the present moment, wielded against the just liberties of the people. The waters of political strife are embittered by it; war, the worst scourge of the human race, is patronised; and monopoly is abetted by our religious establishment. Its influence upon the throne, whether in respect of legislation, or the distribution of honours, of the administration of law or the discharge of magisterial functions, is uniformly mischievous. Public political opinion it stunts and distorts, and to popular education it presents an almost insuperable obstacle.

Seen in the light of mere reason and philosophy, the national church appears to no greater advantage. The axiom so perpetually in the mouths of our bishops, that "it is the unquestionable duty of the state to provide for the religious instruction of the people," if closely examined, turns out to be an absurdity. If religion be regarded as loyalty to the divine government, if religious instruction be anything more than a simple mechanical exhibition of the truth, and if by the state be meant king, lords, and commons, then a more ridiculous dogma than the favourite one just mentioned it is scarcely possible even to imagine. The effects worked out by the practical application of it are certainly as baneful as the maxim itself is unreasonable. It discourages free inquiry in theological science, by fixing a creed for its clergy, and requiring to it unhesitating subscription. It challenges opposition to divine truth by giving to it the sanction of its own uncalled for, and therefore questionable, authority. The cure of souls, which ought to be regarded as imposing the weightiest of obligations, it turns into a marketable commodity. Priestism is engendered by it—priestism, the first-born child of worldliness and hypocrisy. The religion of its own members the state church teaches them to devolve upon a parochial functionary, and to seek at the hands of the clergy a passport to a happy immortality, which will allow them to saunter thither through any bye-ways, and in any company which may suit their pleasure. Its very constitution renders it necessary that it should resort either to open persecution, which the spirit of the age prevents, or to toleration, which, in fact, is persecution *in posse*; and, however painful may

be the former, it cannot degrade those against whom it is leveled to a lower and a meaner position than does the latter. The sympathies and energies of voluntarism, as far as this nation is concerned, the state church oppresses and paralyses by a lie; and as to the mass of the poorer inhabitants of this country, it has failed either to gain their confidence, to win their attachment, or to secure their piety.

If we turn from reason to religion, and consult inspired truth in reference to a religious establishment, our views of it will scarcely become more favourable. All the great objects of Christianity, a state church would seem constructed expressly to defeat. The one aims to govern human nature—the other, allied as it is with law, can command nothing but the actions. The first is gentle, and she comes speaking peace to the heart—the other allies herself with physical force, and seeks the maintenance of her clergy by means which are held to contaminate even a movement for political reform. Christianity is characterised by a beautiful simplicity—the state church is overlaid with the ornaments of ecclesiastical pomp. This forbids lordship—that asserts and upholds it. The aim of the one is to associate goodness, for the purpose of promoting its influence—the other mingles all classes together pell-mell, for no other object that can be discerned than with a view to their being taxed by one order of clergy. The first is characterised by a respectful deference to the rights of conscience—the last recognises no conscience but the fictitious one of the state. In the one case we have wages appointed to the labourer—in the other the labourer is appointed to the wages. And this last feature of a national church is productive of the following results—that she professes to teach the vanity of this world by means of securing in it vested and inalienable rights, and whilst professing to seek unity, is herself the parent of incessant discord.

Such then is the evidence we have arrayed against the principle of national religious establishments. We have now redeemed our pledge—and there remains to us no further duty in this particular direction, than the offering of a few concluding remarks, which we shall hope to perform in our next number.

A seizure of the property of four dissenters, for church rates, took place at Truro last week. Three of the defaulters were the same persons whose property was seized in 1838, and at the sale of which a riot took place, for which they were afterwards tried at the assizes before Mr Baron Gurney, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment. The names of these parties are Mr Richard Barrett, draper, Mr Jacob Corin Edwards, ironmonger, and Mr Samuel Randall, pipe manufacturer: the fourth defaulter was Mr Nathaniel Gatley, cabinet maker. The amount originally claimed for the maintenance of the "poor man's church" was £5 0s. 10d.; and the value of the goods seized was above forty pounds! nearly all of which were sold.

Last week, Mr Henry Ridley of Ipswich was distrained for two years church rates due to that parish. The constable, accompanied by one of the churchwardens and the appraiser, entered the premises and took between three and four cwt of white lead. The rates amounted to £2 6s. 1d., the expenses to £1 12s. 6d. Mr Manister, the acting churchwarden, was elected to the office with the understanding that he would not enforce the rate upon any person who objected to pay on principle, and Mr Ridley supported him in his election under the promise.

The rector of Keighley has made another seizure for Easter dues, having last week taken an immense ash tree, the property of J. Butterfield, timber merchant.

A vestry meeting was held at Bedminster on Friday the 4th inst., to make a rate for the repair of the church and the re-building of the churchyard wall. The motion for a threepenny rate was met by an amendment by Mr Visger, who moved the adjournment of the question till means had been used to obtain the necessary funds voluntarily. After some further remarks, Mr Visger's motion was put and carried by an immense majority, there being only five hands held up against it.

At a vestry meeting held in the parish of St Peter's, Sudbury, last week, a proposition for a church rate of ninepence in the pound was moved and seconded. An amendment to the following effect was also proposed and seconded:—"That it is the duty of all professing Christians to contribute, according to their ability, to the repairs of their respective places of worship.—That the imposition of church rates is a violation of the rights of conscience.—That the churchwardens of this parish be requested to raise a voluntary subscription to defray the expenses incurred in the church of St Peter's." This amendment the chairman, the Rev. H. W. Wilkinson, refused either to put to the meeting, or to enter on the minutes of the vestry.

The *Ipswich Express* records the following instance of clerical intolerance:—"The Rev. Mr —, rector of —, is an avowed Puseyite; or, in other words, he considers himself bound as a minister of the church of England to carry into full effect, literally and rigidly, the articles and canons of that church. Finding that a number of his parishioners are in the habit of attending upon the ministry of the Rev. Mr Carr, vicar of St Peter's, he has been labouring with the

utmost zeal to keep his flock from straying beyond the fold over which he presides. Two ladies who have recently taken a house in his parish, ventured to attend St Peter's church to partake of the communion, and receive improvement from the universally-esteemed labours of Mr Carr. The Rev. Mr. — waited upon these ladies, remonstrated, entreated, warned, and we have heard, threatened them; but all in vain—they heeded not his counsels nor cared for his representations of the 'awful crime they committed in transgressing the laws of the church'—they conscientiously refused to sit under his preaching. Thus foiled, the rev. gentleman determined to have recourse to extreme measures, and thereupon laid the case before the Bishop of London, begging his lordship to enforce upon Mr Carr the observance and fulfilment of the following canon of the church:—

CANON 28—*Strangers not to be admitted to the Communion.*—The churchwardens or questmen, and their assistants, shall mark, as well as the minister, whether all and every of the parishioners come so often every year to the holy communion, as the laws and our constitution do require; and whether any strangers come often and commonly from other parishes to their church: and shall show their minister of them, lest perhaps they be admitted to the Lord's table amongst others, which they shall forbid; and remit such home to their own parish churches and ministers, there to receive the communion with the rest of their own neighbours.

The bishop has given no opinion on the subject, but transmitted the letter to Sir Herbert Oakley, the archdeacon, who sent it to Mr Carr, in whose hands we believe it for the present remains.

The church-going inhabitants of Upper Winchendon have usually one service on the Sabbath, in the parish church of that village; the clergyman, a pluralist, never thinking of giving them more than one attendance, and at times not that. About last Christmas, the congregation got together, but no pastor attended. On Sunday last, a similar disappointment took place: no minister attended, the bells were ringing for about an hour and a half, and a large congregation was in the church, many of whom waited for his reverence for upwards of an hour; waiting, however, was vain—come the minister did not.

On Sunday last, several parties presented themselves around the font in a church, not far from Hunslet, to stand as sponsors for infants, when the following conversation took place:—Minister—"Are you going to stand for these children?" Answer—"Yes, sir." "Have you been confirmed?" "Yes, sir." "Have you ever received the sacrament?" "No, sir." After long hesitating, and looking earnestly at the parties, the minister at length said, with great emphasis, "Then I shan't accept of you standing for these children!" So the parties withdrew, struck with amazing perplexity at this singular conduct of the holy man. Heretofore, no questions of the kind have been asked.—*Leeds Times.*

Under the title of "The Second Reformation," the Rev. T. Spencer, curate of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, has put out a small tract on church reform, one of the recommendations in which is—that bishops shall cease to sit in the house of Lords, their palaces be put up to auction, their revenues be consigned to the care of a new board of ecclesiastical commissioners, their incomes reduced to £300 or £400 a year, and their only badge of distinction to consist in "the excellent spirit" that is in them.

The differences about including the Prince of Wales in the prayers used by the King of Hanover, which are according to the form of the English church, has been already decided by his Majesty's desire; though the opinion of an English bishop, who was applied to on the subject, is said to be indefinite. (It is known that the permission to insert the Prince of Wales in the church service is refused.) In whatever point of view the question may be considered, there cannot well be any doubt that his Majesty was in the right, since the direction of what persons shall be included in the solemn prayer of the church belongs everywhere to the sovereign as an exercise of the highest territorial power, and not as an attribute of the highest episcopal power. In the kingdom of Hanover, therefore, the King of Hanover, and not the Queen of England, has to decide this matter. That his Majesty's domestic chaplain was bound to follow the liturgy of the Anglican church, makes no difference, because the including in the prayers of the church belongs to the *circumstantiis externis*.—*Hamburg Paper.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—I suggest to your correspondent, "A church-rate Defaulter," a shorter and more effectual way of abolishing church rates than that of bringing actions against magistrates, for granting illegal warrants of distress. Let all who object to the compulsory payments, demanded in whatever form by the state church, take no notice whatever of any of the proceedings taken by churchwardens, magistrates, proctors, or whatever the title may be in which the worthies delight, who consent to be the tools with which the members of the establishment work out its unchristian practices. If the dissenters, one and all, would rest in passive submission to the state church authorities, there would at once be an end of the oppression; but if they cannot resolve on the most conclusive of all modes of reasoning, the determination not to do, let them not complain, if their want of moral courage prevents them from obtaining relief from the oppression under which they suffer. I am, sir,

March 10, 1842.

A CHURCH-RATE RECUSANT.

IS THE SUFFRAGE A RIGHT?

[We have been requested by the writer to insert the following letter, it having been refused by the *Leeds Mercury* for the following reasons:—"1st, and mainly, because of the great pressure of important news; and, 2nd, because we cannot continue the controversy, and we do not think it right to publish views which we conceive to be erroneous without showing in what respect we think them so."]

To the Editor of the Leeds Mercury.

SIR—I have neither time nor inclination to enter into a lengthened discussion on the "suffrage as a right"; but in your article in reply to mine of last week there appears to be one or two admissions which seem fatal to your argument. You say—

"It is evident that Blackstone's theory of the constitution cannot be rightly understood to sanction universal suffrage, because he founded his theory upon the actual state of things, and the fact is, that universal suffrage never did exist. The real explanation of the matter is this. In ancient times, when the king wanted money, he summoned his parliament, consisting of the representatives from the boroughs and counties; those representatives granted him what they or their constituents thought proper;

and the money was levied in the way of assessment, or direct tax, on the inhabitants of the boroughs, and on the owners of land in counties. But all who paid these contributions or taxes were persons possessed of more or less property. Those who paid, in most cases, had votes for the representatives. But the labourers did not pay, neither did they vote."

"Those who paid, in most cases, had votes for the representatives. But the labourers did not pay, neither did they vote." So then it seems that even in those times the suffrage was co-extensive with taxation. Does any one wish for more complete suffrage now? Why, this is the very theory of its advocates.

Again, you say—

"The suffrage being a political contrivance for the purpose of securing good government, and a thing not existing in a state of nature, we do not see how men can have a 'natural right' to the suffrage. We most freely and gladly admit that the natural rights of all men are equal. We admit, and always maintain, that those natural rights remain in force when men enter into society, except so far as they are necessarily restricted for the sake of the general good."

Whether the suffrage is, strictly speaking, a natural or political right I will not now contend, because, if in a state of nature the rights of all are equal, the political rights or privileges which arise in a state of society must be founded on, either—

1st. The equal natural right of all to assist in determining how society shall be governed, in which case the political privileges of all must be equal; or,

2nd. This equal natural right of all being freely delegated and transferred to a few, in which case the political privileges and authority of the few are legitimately exercised; or,

3rd. Political privileges and power must be assumed and seized by the few, without the consent of the many, in which case it is tyranny.

Now, sir, notwithstanding your arguments, and all you say in the subsequent part of your article about socialists and chartists, I must submit that the exercise of the suffrage by the few to the exclusion of the many, never having been freely delegated and transferred, rests upon no better foundation than usurpation and tyranny, and consequently every day we withhold its complete extension we are, according to reason, and according to your own showing of Blackstone's theory, guilty of injustice towards those whom we tax "without their own consent or that of their representatives;" and of him who would thus deprive others of their rights, no less than of him who unconcernedly submits to the injustice, it may be said,

"Unworthy of the blessings of the brave,
Is base in kind, and born to be a slave."

I am, yours respectfully,

Market Harborough, 9th March, 1842.

A DISTANT READER.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

Church patronage (Scotland), for abolition of, 1.	sent system, 5.
Church and state, for dissolution of, 1.	Marriages (Ireland), for declaring valid, 26.
Corn laws, for repeal of, 206.	Maynooth college, against further grant to, 5.
— against proposed measure, 22.	Oaths, for substituting affirmations for, 1.
— for ditto, 1.	Poor Law Amendment act, against repeal of, 2.
— for importation of wheat in preference to flour, 34.	— for repeal of, 4.
— against reduction of duty on oats, 6.	Union with Ireland, for repeal of, 4.
Education (Ireland), for alteration of pre-	Universal suffrage, for, 3.

PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

BILLS PRESENTED, AND READ A FIRST TIME.

1. Consolidated Fund (£8,000,000) bill. | 2. Spirit duties (Ireland) bill.

BILL READ A SECOND TIME.

Parish Property bill.

CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

1. Railways bill.
2. Ways and means—Resolved, 1. That towards raising the supply granted to her Majesty, there shall be charged, levied, collected, and paid upon every gallon of spirits of the strength of hydrometer proof, which shall, on or after the eleventh day of March, one thousand eight hundred and forty-two, be distilled in Ireland, or be in the stock, custody, or possession of any distiller in Ireland, or which, having been distilled in Ireland or Scotland, shall on or after that day be in warehouse in Ireland, and be taken out of warehouse for consumption in Ireland, or which, having been taken out of warehouse in Scotland for removal to Ireland, shall on or after that day be brought into Ireland, an additional duty of one shilling.
2. That the malt allowance now payable on every gallon of spirits distilled in Ireland from malted corn only, not being mixed with unmalted corn or grain, shall cease and determine.
3. That, towards making good the supply granted to her Majesty, the sum of £8,000,000 be granted out of the consolidated fund of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.
3. West India Clergy bill.
4. Exchequer Bill Loan acts.
5. Queen's Prison bill.
6. Forged Exchequer Bills bill.
7. Corn Importation act.

BILL READ A THIRD TIME, AND PASSED.

West India Clergy bill.

MOTIONS.

Consular establishment—Motion made and question, "That it appears to this House, that great inconvenience and injury to the public welfare have arisen from the civil affairs of her Majesty in foreign countries being carried on by two distinct services; and that, with a view of advancing those commercial interests which at this moment so much occupy our consideration, it is expedient that measures should be forthwith taken to blend the consular with the diplomatic body"—(Mr D'Israeli), put and negatived.

Marriages—Motion made and question proposed, "That leave be given to bring in a bill to amend an act intitled, 'An Act to render certain Marriages valid, and to alter the Law with respect to certain voidable Marriages,' and to define the prohibited degrees of affinity."—(Lord Francis Egerton.) Debate adjourned to Wednesday, March 16.

SUBSTANCE OF CONVERSATIONS.

AFFGHANISTAN.—On Friday evening, in reply to questions from Mr S. WORTLEY, Sir R. PEEL said that he trusted there was nothing in the accounts that had been received that ought to create despondency. Her Majesty's government would take every measure that it may be advisable to take to repair this partial disaster. Under the circumstances, he had no doubt but parliament would give her Majesty's government its confidence and support, whatever might be the demand which ministers might feel it their duty to make in order to repair the disaster that had occurred, and to satisfy the public in this country, in India, and throughout the world, that they were determined to spare no sacrifice in order to maintain our Indian empire.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Sir R. PEEL, in reply to Sir R. Inglis, said that he proposed to move the adjournment of the House for the Easter recess from Thursday week to the Monday week following; and in reply to Mr C. Buller, the right hon. baronet stated that it was his intention to propose his resolutions respecting the finances of the country on Friday next.

DEBATES.
Wednesday, March 9.
CORN LAWS.

Sir R. PEEL having moved the second reading of the Corn law bill, Lord EBRINGTON rose to oppose the motion. He considered all sliding scales as unsound in principle, and advocated a fixed duty. He concluded by moving that the bill be read a second time that day six months.

Colonel WOOD was disposed to accept the government plan as the most practical they were likely to get.

Captain VIVIAN and Mr BLACKSTONE supported the amendment, and Mr BUCK opposed it.

Lord HOWICK condemned the principle of the bill as containing that of the act of 1828. He admitted, however, that it was a modification of the evils resulting from that measure.

As far, however, as they did go, he thought their measure a great improvement, and particularly in this respect—that it would lead, at no very distant period of time, to more complete reform. It was the beginning of that which nothing in this country could avert—a reform of the corn laws, founded on much clearer and more intelligible principles. The right hon. baronet, in the measure which he had proposed to the House, had adhered to the principle of the law that was now in force. He (Lord Howick) thought, as he had stated, and it was very generally admitted on the other side, that the act of 1828 was a practical failure; he did not think, however, that it was equally admitted, though it seemed to be now suspected, that the failure was the necessary result of the very objects which that act was intended to provide for. It was passed for the purposes of maintaining certain prices, and promoting certain fluctuations; at least such were the views of the framers of that act, and at the time of its being proposed parliament were taught to believe that the effect of it would be to steady and equalise prices; and, by increasing the duty in proportion as prices fell, and diminishing the duty in proportion as prices rose, that it would have the effect of limiting that rise and fall within certain limits, which the framers of the act considered it was not expedient that the prices should exceed.

This was a subject with which parliament ought to have nothing to do. The price of food, like that of every other article, ought to be left to work its own level, and by natural laws the demand would regulate supply and price.

That was the natural state of things, and if by law they did not interfere with it, experience had shown that it would work with a regularity and beauty which it was impossible sufficiently to admire. In the whole order of creation he knew nothing more marvelous or more striking than the manner in which, by the combined results of the operations of a number of individuals, none of whom were thinking of the public interest, but each looking only to his own private advantage, the supply of food to a great community was regulated. The manner in which each individual of a large nation was provided with a proper quantity of food, so that in proportion to the supply the prices varied in such a manner as to enable production to be continued, and avoid undue pressure on the consumer—the manner, he said, in which that took place, without any interference of public authority, and by the agency of men as unconscious of the ends they were effecting as the different wheels of a great machine of the purposes for which they were set in motion, was most surprising, and the more one considered the beautiful mechanism of society the more must one admire it, and be convinced that it was the appointment of unerring wisdom and infinite benevolence. But why were they not satisfied with that order of society which was appointed by Providence for the regulation of that supply? Why must they attempt to correct and improve what had been so established? It was quite extraordinary how slow men were to learn the folly and presumption of such interference. Even in the memory of men who were now living the laws passed against forestalling and regrating had been enforced. We had understood the folly of that interference so far as internal trade was concerned; freedom in that was now established, and we had found the benefits of the alteration; but we still obstinately adhered, as to foreign trade, to restrictions and contrivances conceived in the self-same spirit, and with equal blindness and presumption.

The chief reason assigned for not carrying out this principle was, that agriculture required protection. He protested against the use of the word "protection" in such a sense.

The only protection to which agriculture, or any other branch of industry, was entitled, was that which secured to every man the fruits of his own honest labours; which protected him from being subject to be deprived by others of a part of the produce of his own industry. That was the only protection which he had ever acknowledged to be due to agriculture, or any other branch of our national industry. But was it not an abuse of language, when, under the name of protection, they gave any particular class of the community the power of saying to their fellow-subjects and fellow-citizens—"You shall take those things which we produce at higher prices than similar articles which you might purchase elsewhere; you shall not be at liberty to make the most of the produce of your industry; you shall not be at liberty to exchange that which you have produced in the manner most advantageous to your interests; but, by a fiscal regulation which we have introduced, it is our intention to compel you to pay more for the articles of domestic produce than you would pay for the same kind of articles elsewhere."

Whilst thus opposed to protection, he was not, however, an advocate for the total and immediate repeal of the corn laws. Looking at the amount of revenue it was necessary to raise, and the peculiar burdens upon the land, he thought it a wise policy that a moderate fixed duty should be levied upon foreign corn.

But, while he said this, he meant that the duty should in reality be but moderate, one which would offer no obstructions to other branches of trade; and if the choice were placed before him to decide between the ministerial measure and a plan for a completely free trade in corn—if such an alternative were offered to him, he did not hesitate to say that he should choose a total repeal of the import duty on corn in preference to a variable scale of duties.

He went on to consider the government scheme in detail. The law now proposed threw a heavy burden upon the consumer; for, by discouraging importation from the remoter countries, it gave a monopoly to the nearer corn growers, which produced the effect of raising prices. But this shifting scale injured the farmer as well as the consumer. The farmer was injured by the diminution of duty on increased prices, just as the consumer was injured by the increase of duty on diminished prices. Whatever duty the House might determine to impose, let it be a fixed one. He then combated the arguments which had been brought forward to prove that the distress existing in the country was caused by over-production and over-speculation, and he warned the landowners that the longer they deferred a settlement of the question, the worse terms they would obtain. He had no fear even for the ultimate effect of a total repeal of duties.

He firmly believed that our farmers, as our manufacturers, were quite equal in capital, skill, and industry, to those of the continent, and fully able to sustain a competition with them. He was sure that land would be better cultivated if that opinion more generally prevailed. In the county which he lately represented, and at the last contest for which he undoubtedly was defeated, the prevailing opinion of the best and ablest agriculturists was in favour of a change; their opinion likewise was, and in that sentiment he fully concurred, that there was little fear of a greater change than that which had last year been proposed. There was a fact bearing upon this question with which all men acquainted with Scotland and the north of England must be familiar—namely, that where the land was best cultivated the opinion was strongest in favour of a change. Even in Devonshire the disposition was in favour of a change. It was only where a barbarous and neglected system was in use that the apprehensions of alteration were strong.

He expressed his conviction that the present measure could not be a permanent one. He was persuaded that in a session or two Sir R. Peel would be obliged to propose some further change. He entered into the evils resulting from this unsettled state of things; and pointed out, that whilst further changes were thus hanging over the

farmer, the relations between him and his landlord must remain in a very unsatisfactory state; leases would not be taken, and improvements would not be made. He concluded by repeating his objections to the present corn law, which he did not sanction by his course on the present occasion. He should have been better pleased if it had been arranged that the opponents of the bill, instead of thus resisting it on the second reading, should endeavour to modify it in committee; but, under the present circumstances, he should vote for the amendment now proposed.

Mr PACKINGTON opposed the amendment.

Mr C. BULLER spoke of the inconsistency of those members who argued in favour of the present corn law and voted for the new scheme. He went at some length into the details of the plan and argued for a fixed duty. He entered into calculations to show that as prices have been since last July, the country would have paid less under a fixed duty of 8s. than under the sliding scale now proposed. The effect of a sliding scale was always to prevent corn from being duly brought to market; for the speculator under it had a double motive to withhold his grain—the hope of diminution in duty, and the hope of augmentation in price. The present measure had, however, two merits—it would produce some increase of revenue; and it would pull the first brick out of the old system.

Sir E. KNATCHBULL contended that, with the exception of the Anti-corn-law league, the country in general was decidedly favourable to the government scheme.

Mr SHEIL regretted that the government, in effecting a change of the existing system of corn laws, had adhered to the vicious principle of the sliding scale, which led to constant vicissitudes, and gave an incentive to fraud instead of substituting a legitimate system of commerce, for the encouragement of the practices of rash and unprincipled adventurers.

You apply the principle of a sliding scale to corn alone—you apply it to no other article of human food. Colonial coffee and colonial sugar are protected by fixed duties. It is said that the sugar duties are about to undergo a change. It is rumoured that the apprehensions which were so lately entertained as to the indirect sanction you would give to the slave trade begin to subside. Do you mean to apply the principle of the sliding scale to coffee and to sugar? If you did so, if you passed a law declaring that the duty upon Brazilian sugar and upon Havannah sugar shall depend upon the average price of East India and of West India sugar, I will ask the right honourable gentleman the Vice-president of the Board of Trade, whose peculiar care this would be, whether such a law would not inflict a great practical injury on the growers of coffee and the growers of sugar in the Brazils?

The sliding scale had induced no fewer than thirty-five variations of prices in the course of a single year, and it therefore appeared to him that the system, instead of being a safeguard for the interests of the farmer, was a source of the greatest injury. The assertion that the working of the present corn laws did not, in a great measure, occasion the present distress of the country, was fallacious.

For my own part, when I find the corn laws affect the trade and manufactures of this country—the employment of the people—I find in them an adequate cause of that public distress which exists, and an adequate cause of that legitimate effect is, I think, fairly ascertained. If something effectual is not done in parliament—in a parliament in which the landed interests are said to have such an influence—I am afraid that the people of this country will be disposed to turn with resentful importunity from the mere expression of our sympathy, and will adopt a more stringent mode of proceeding; and as they have been led to believe that the poor law was not enacted from any profound solicitude for the poor, so they will think that the corn laws are retained from an exclusive regard to the feelings and interests of the rich. And I must say that it would be hard indeed for this House to turn from the supplications for relief; it would be hard if, while we by our legislation affect the employment of the people, and induce the operatives of this country to ask for an asylum in those domiciles of woe which are provided for them, we refuse to afford them the means of supporting themselves in a manner becoming their ancient character and position. If charity is to be withheld, let not work, at all events, be refused. The people of England do not ask for charity; they do not go on their knees to ask any eleemosynary contributions—they ask for bread to produce work—for work to produce bread—they ask not for cheap bread indeed, but for more—they ask for the means of earning bread, whether it be cheap or costly. They call on us to strike off those fetters which cramp the industry of the country, and in doing so they wish us to consult, not merely their interest, but our own.

He considered the interests of agriculture and commerce to be inseparable. Trade depended upon agriculture and agriculture upon trade. It was not to the extent of her territory that England owed her greatness, but to her wide spread industry and the genius of her commerce. Her commercial interests should therefore be the objects of her sedulous care.

Mr GLADSTONE replied to the arguments of Mr Sheil and Mr Buller at some length, but without anything new being introduced. He urged that if there were a total repeal of the corn laws, the poorer sorts of lands would be thrown out of cultivation, and a large mass of agricultural labourers would be deprived of employment. He thought the farmers of this country had shown great forbearance, and a disposition to conciliate, and he believed that the measure had the support of a considerable majority of the commercial as well as of the agricultural interests.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL contended that, instead of supporting the measure by arguments, the speakers on the other side contented themselves with imputations cast upon the late government. He did not believe that if the corn laws were repealed any very great quantity of land would be thrown out of cultivation, nor any great number of labourers out of employ. It was said, by way of answer to the argument in favour of opening foreign markets to our manufactures, that the great market was that of the home demand.

But then by your corn laws you put such a price upon corn that the consumers of manufactures were obliged to expend a greater portion of their wages upon food, the consequence of which was a diminution in the sale of your manufactures. The diminution of 3,000 bales of cotton a week during the last year was a tolerably strong proof of that. In the first place, we had now a foreign competition in manufactures to a greater extent than hitherto; and that competition was increasing year after year; and in the second place, that competition had the effect of diminishing the quantity of food in this country as compared with its population. Now, both those circumstances tended to produce distress. It might naturally be supposed that such causes would produce such effects. And had those effects been wanting? They knew but too well that they now existed, and that in many districts throughout the country thousands were obliged, by the want of employment, to consume as much food only as with difficulty kept them alive. In such a condition of affairs it appeared to him that the remedy, a remedy which could produce a great and immediate effect, would be to make a large change in import duties of all kinds, but especially in those of corn.

He represented the vast productive powers of America, and the importance of a trade in corn with that country; which, he contended, a sliding scale would in a great measure prevent.

With some voyages from America you might, no doubt, obtain corn in time for a profitable sale; but he asked whether it would not be better to frame the law in such a way as to prevent that difficulty altogether—a difficulty which was inseparable from the sliding scale, and which undoubtedly placed America in a worse position as regarded the corn trade with England than any other country. Consider the vast extent of territory, greater than that of all England, which was capable of producing wheat in America, and consider the thousands of your people who might be fed with that corn.

And yet they were to witness a parliament sitting in England and a congress sitting in America—they were to witness these two legislatures of the most free and enlightened nations in the world, interposing an obstacle by the agency of a sliding scale to the enjoyment of this blessing.

He then went over various details to show the different working of a sliding scale and a fixed duty; and concluded by contending that the same arguments which were successful in enabling Sir R. Peel to carry the present measure would have enabled him to carry a fixed duty of eight shillings.

Sir R. PEEL said he disapproved of the principle of a fixed duty, and therefore opposed it. He entered into various explanations to correct the exaggerations and misrepresentations which had got abroad of what he had said in the course of the former discussions. He contended that the distance of the United States did not place American corn under the disadvantages spoken of.

The noble lord selected a particular instance with respect to imports from the United States. I certainly did mention a particular instance in which an import had taken place from the United States in a very short period. An hon. and gallant officer opposite (Sir C. Napier) said I ought not to rely on that case as an indication of the length of voyage under all circumstances, and desired that there might be produced an account of the length of the voyage by ships importing corn from the United States. I have it now before me, with respect to New York, the chief port from which corn is brought into England, giving the length of voyage of all ships from New York to Liverpool in 1841. The number of ships was 30, and the average duration of the voyage was 23 days; and that being the case, if you do permit, by an alteration of the law, a more regular trade in corn than you have had under the existing law, it does appear to me clear, from this paper, that the United States are not, in comparison with Dantzic and other ports in the Baltic, placed at such disadvantage with respect to the import of corn into this country as some people have imagined.

He complained that Lord John Russell had not shaped his amendment so as to try his own theory fairly, or to bring his own principle to a test; but in such a form as to catch a few votes of gentlemen not concurring in that principle. On the contrary, he (Sir R. Peel) had acted throughout with perfect sincerity and good faith, and had thereby obtained the approbation of all moderate and thinking men.

As a question affecting great and complicated interests, and in respect to which the minds of men were much divided, I had to deal with the corn laws; and I felt this, that if the question was to be touched, it was desirable to bring it to a practical conclusion. I did not want to bring forward a measure enunciating some general principles, and after spending the session in discussion, find myself in August practically where I was in January previous. I wished to propose a measure which there would be a prospect of passing into a law—not giving universal satisfaction, for that I despaired of—but having the concurrence of the well-thinking, rational, intelligent portions of the community. Yes, and I have had it. And what makes your debates so flat and dull? What, but that the country has decided in favour of my measure? I am not speaking of the Anti-corn-law league; it is quite impossible that they should so soon forget their vocation as to permit their acquiescence in this law. I am not speaking of the agricultural community, but I do believe that among the trading, manufacturing, commercial classes there is a strong conviction that the measure I have proposed, looking at the existing state of the country, is a fair and just arrangement. Yes, and if it were otherwise, I should find the debates in this house carried on with much more spirit and vigour.

He contended that the division on the motion then under discussion would be no indication of the opinion on the subject of the corn laws; inasmuch as it would include those opposed to all duty, and those in favour of a fixed duty, and also those opposed to any change in the present law. He taunted Lord J. Russell on the entire change which had taken place in his views since he had ceased to be a county member.

The noble lord had ridiculed the prejudices and fears of the agriculturists. Now, the noble lord should be sparing upon that point. He has a perfect right, and I do not complain of it—on the contrary, I think it manly and courageous—to change opinions when upon more extended views you believe them to be wrong; but he ought to have had mercy on the farmers who entertained fears respecting agriculture; for, if ever there were a public man who wrote in a manner to excite those fears, and confirm the prejudices of the agriculturists, that man was the noble lord. There sit the noble lord, the member for London, and the hon. member, the late Vice-president of the Board of Trade (Mr Sheil); and if ever any men did anything to excite apprehension, the one for Irish oats, the other for English wheat, they were the noble lord and the right hon. gentleman. The noble lord was all for English wheat; the right hon. gentleman was all for Irish oats; but their agricultural partialities have in some degree vanished. Surely I might say—

“Tuque prior tu parce,”

in respect to those unfortunate farmers whose apprehensions you have done as much as any man to excite.

He concluded by urging the House to pass this measure as the only arrangement of the question that could be made.

After a few words from Lord WORSLEY and Sir C. NAPIER, the House divided, when the numbers were, for the second reading, 284; against it, 176; majority, 108.

Friday, March 11.
WAYS AND MEANS.

Sir ROBERT PEEL rose to make his promised financial statement. He commenced by remarking that there was no occasion for despondency in the present position of the revenue and resources of the country; he asserted that he approached the subject with buoyancy and alacrity of spirit; and he declared his intention of looking the difficulties in his way boldly in the face, and making a full and unreserved disclosure of his plans. He then referred to the estimates for the present year, and stated the probable deficiency at 2,350,000*l.* For next year, ending April, 1843, the estimated expenditure was 50,819,000*l.*, and the income 48,350,000*l.*, leaving a deficiency of 2,569,000*l.* In addition to this, a further outlay in China and elsewhere must be provided for.

Looking to the extent of the preparations which have been made for the continuance, and, I trust the completion, of the hostilities with China, I do not think I can safely estimate the cost for the year ending the 5th of April, 1843, at much less than 1,400,000*l.* or 1,500,000*l.*, for 500,000*l.* of which we make provision in the present year. But let us take the whole cost at 1,300,000*l.*; that is the lowest sum we can fairly take, there will then be a deficiency, some time or other to be provided for, of not less than 800,000*l.* Therefore to my estimated deficiency of 2,470,000*l.*, in the sum to be provided for the general service of the year, you must add the probable demands which may be made upon you to the extent of 700,000*l.* or 800,000*l.* In addition to this, there may be demands for Australia and other colonies, that may possibly amount to the sum of 100,000*l.* I do not take into account the charge which will probably be necessary on account of Canada—it is not a charge exactly, but I think there was an engagement that we should give the aid of our credit to Canada for a loan of 1,500,000*l.* But that, I apprehend, is altogether independent of actual charge, and I think that under the circumstances, we should not be disinclined to support the credit of Canada by that of this House. At the same time it is right that the whole extent of our engagements should be placed fairly before the country. In addition to all this, those events of which we have had recent cognizance, as having occurred in Afghanistan, may, and so far as I can form a judgment, will impose upon her Majesty's government the necessity of calling on parliament to sanction, perhaps, a considerable increase in the army estimates.

Upon the subject of the Indian finances generally much was to be apprehended.

Depend upon it, if the credit of India should become disordered, if some great exertion should become necessary, then the credit of England must be brought forward to its support, and the collateral and indirect effect of disorders in Indian finances would be felt extensively in this country. Sir, I am sorry to say, that Indian finance offers no consolation for the state of finance in this country. I hold in my hand an account of the finances of India, which I have every reason to believe is a correct one; it is made

up one month later than our own accounts—to the 5th of May. It states the gross revenue of India, with the charges on it; the interest of the debt; the surplus revenue, and the charges paid on it in England; and there are two columns which contain the net surplus and the net deficit. In the year ending May, 1836, there was a surplus of 1,520,000*l.* from the Indian revenue. In the year ending the 5th of May, 1837, there was a surplus of 1,100,000*l.*, which was reduced rapidly, in the year ending May, 1838, to one of 620,000*l.* In the year ending the 5th of May, 1839, the surplus fell to 29,000*l.* In the year ending the 5th of May, 1840, the balance of the account changed, and so far from there being any surplus, the deficit on the Indian revenue was 2,414,000*l.* I am afraid I cannot calculate the deficit for the year ending May, 1841, though it depends at present partly on estimate, at much less than 2,334,000*l.*

He had thus shown a probable deficiency upon the two years ending April, 1843, of not less than £4,700,000. And next came the question, how was this deficiency to be supplied?

It is our duty, no doubt, before any proposition be made, to exhaust in consideration the modes by which that deficiency can be supplied. Shall we persevere in the system on which we have been acting for the last five years? Shall we, in time of peace, have resort to continued loans? Shall we try issues of exchequer bills? Shall we resort to saving-banks? Shall we have recourse to any of those expedients which, call them by what name you please, are neither more nor less than a permanent addition to the public debt?

None of these methods would do any longer, nor was there any prospect of reduction in the expenditure. It was a deficiency which was not casual, but constant for some years past, amounting in the last six years to no less than £10,072,000. When the post-office revenue was abandoned, a surrender which he had opposed, a promise which remained unfulfilled was made, that some substitute should be found. He should not, however, this year consider himself justified in proposing any change in that department; and since none of the plans mentioned would bear a continuance, he was driven to fresh taxation as his only resource. Should he, then, impose a tax on articles of consumption, or the necessities of life?

I cannot consent to any proposal for increasing taxation on the great articles of consumption by the labouring classes of society [cheers from both sides of the house]. I say, moreover, I can give you conclusive proof that you have arrived at the limits of taxation on articles of consumption. I am speaking now of articles of luxury which might be supposed not to constitute the consumption of the laborious classes, and I advise you not to attempt taxation even upon those articles, for you will be defeated in your expectations of revenue. The right hon. gentleman opposite (Mr F. Baring), attempting to redeem the pledge which had been given by parliament to repair the deficiency which was caused by the defalcation of the post-office revenue, proposed in 1840, that 5 per cent. additional duty should be laid on the articles of customs and excise, and the actual increase in the amount of revenue was but little more than one-half per cent.

He then enumerated various articles which had been pointed out to him for taxation, as salt, leather, wool, locomotive power, gaslight, piano-fortes, and umbrellas, and ridiculed the idea of deriving revenue from any of these sources. There was another source, which had been urged by the late government, and which required more serious examination, viz., diminished taxation.

Before I apply myself to this point, let me remind you of the extent of your deficit; the amount of the sum to be provided for; and the proof I have offered you that it is not an occasional or casual deficiency you have to make good. No one has greater confidence than I have in the ultimate tendency of reduction in taxation on the great articles of consumption, if wisely managed; but after giving to this subject the fullest consideration, I have come to the complete conviction that it would be mere delusion to hope for supplying the deficiency by diminished taxation on articles of consumption. I have a firm confidence that such is the buoyancy of the consumptive powers of this country, that we may hope ultimately to realise increased revenue from diminished taxation; but a long period must elapse before this end is attained, and I feel confident that the adoption of any plan like that proposed by the late government, or the adoption of any other plan for raising revenue by means of diminished taxation, would not afford any immediate relief, or provide any resources on which we might rely for supplying the deficiency of the revenue.

He then went through the amount of revenue derived from various articles upon which a reduction of duty had taken place, and showed that with one or two exceptions, there were none on which the duty had recovered itself within a period of five or six years after a considerable reduction. A mere reduction of duties therefore, would not meet the present emergency, and he would now state what was the measure he meant to propose.

I propose, that for a time to be limited, the income of this country should be called on to contribute a certain sum for the purpose of remedying this mighty and growing evil. I propose that the income of this country should bear a charge not exceeding sevenpence in the pound; which will not amount to 3 per cent., but be, speaking accurately, £2 18s. 4d. per cent.; for the purpose of not only supplying the deficiency in the revenue, but of enabling me with confidence and satisfaction to propose great commercial reforms—which will afford a hope of reviving commerce; and such an improvement in the manufacturing interests as will re-act on every other interest in the country; and, by diminishing the prices of the articles of consumption, and the cost of living, will, in a pecuniary point of view, compensate you for your present sacrifices; whilst, you will be, at the same time, relieved from the contemplation of a mighty evil. In 1798, when the prospects of this country were gloomy, the minister had the courage to propose, and the people had the fortitude to adopt, an income tax of 10 per cent. The income tax continued to the close of the war in 1802; and in 1803, after the rupture of the peace of Amiens, a duty of 5 per cent was placed upon property. It was raised in 1805 to 6½ per cent., and in 1806 again to ten per cent.; and so it continued to the end of the war. I propose that the duty to be laid on property shall not exceed 3 per cent., or, as I said before, exactly £2 18s. 4d., being 7d. in the pound. Under the former duty, all incomes below £60 were exempt from taxation, and on incomes between £60 and £150 the tax was on a reduced rate. I shall propose that from the income tax I now recommend all incomes under £150 shall be exempt. Under the former income tax, the amount at which the occupying tenants were charged was estimated at three-fourths of the rent. It is admitted, I believe, that to calculate the profits of the tenants at the three-fourths of the rent was too high an estimate. I propose, therefore, that in respect of the occupying tenant, the occupation of land shall be charged at one-half instead of three-fourths of the rent. I believe this to be a perfectly fair reduction, and it was contemplated in 1816, when Lord Bexley proposed the renewal of the income tax. I believe it to be a perfectly fair reduction, inasmuch as rents have increased in reference to the value of land in a proportion to justify it. I propose, for I see no ground for exemption, that all funded property, whether held by natives of this country or foreigners should be subject to the same charge as unfunded property.

He gave an estimate of the probable amount to be realised by this income tax from the various descriptions of property, the result of which was as follows:—From houses and land, £1,600,000; from the occupiers of land, £120,000; from funded property, £646,000; from trades and professions, £1,220,000; from the incomes of public officers, £155,000; total, £3,771,000. He then spoke of the probable duration of this tax.

I trust that parliament will confirm the duration I am about to propose; and I trust that parliament would not be unwilling, in case of necessity, to continue the duration of this tax for a period of five years. But still there may be, as there have been before, and of which I do not despair, those revivals of commercial prosperity, coupled with the measures which I am about to propose, that may make parliament naturally anxious to have the opportunity of reconsidering the subject at an earlier period than that which I name; they may wish to have the opportunity of considering the operation of this tax at an earlier period than five years; and although I must contemplate the possibility, for public interests, of that duration, and although I trust, that in case the experiment should not be complete, parliament would not hesitate to prolong it, yet I think, upon the whole, it is only just, in the first instance, to limit the experiment to a period of three years, in order to give parliament an opportunity of continuing it at the end of that time, if necessary. I propose that it shall commence so that the 10th of October next shall be the first half-year.

With respect to Ireland, as there was no machinery in that country for collecting an income tax, he proposed to substitute instead thereof

a duty of 1s. per gallon upon spirits, which he believed would realise £250,000; and an equalisation of the stamp duties, from which he expected to obtain £160,000. From absentees, having no call of public duty to fix them in England, he should require the payment of the same property tax which would be required from other residents in this island. There was one other duty he meant to impose—upon coal exported from this country.

At present there is a duty imposed by law upon the export of coals in foreign ships of 4s. per ton. I must say I cannot conceive any more legitimate object of duty than coal exported out of this country—I speak of what is reasonable and just, and think that a tax levied on an article produced in this country—an element of manufactures—necessary to manufactures—contributing by its export to increase the competition with our manufactures—I think that such a tax is a perfectly legitimate source of revenue. It is important to consider the rapid increase in the quantity of coal exported; in 1831 the quantity was 356,000 tons, the duty received being 50,000*l.*; in 1833, the quantity was 448,000 tons, the duty being 64,710*l.*; in 1839, the quantity was 1,192,000 tons, in 1840, 1,307,000 tons; but the realised income, instead of being, as in 1833, 64,000*l.*, was in 1840, only 6,900*l.* Now, I do not intend to increase the duty. I wish not at all to prohibit the export of coals; but I propose that the duty at first intended to be levied on coals exported in foreign ships should be paid and with this view I propose that the duty of 4s. per ton shall be levied on coal exported in British, as well as in foreign ships, thus removing the exemption which under the reciprocity system the foreign ships claim. If the duty of 4s. shall be paid on the same number of tons, I shall then derive an annual amount from this source of revenue of 200,000*l.*, not an inconsiderable increase of revenue, and operating, as few taxes do, to the encouragement of native industry.

The amount of additional revenue he expected to derive from these sources was 4,380,000*l.*, which after covering the deficiency on the votes of annual expenditure would leave a surplus of 1,800,000*l.* This surplus he proposed to apply in relaxing the commercial tariff.

Sir, I look to the tariff, and find that it comprises not less than 1,200 articles subject to various duties. During the interval which I have been blamed for securing, I can only say, that each individual item in that tariff has been subjected to the most careful consideration. In the case of each article we have endeavoured to determine, as well as we can, the proportion borne by the duty to the average price, for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent it may be desirable to make deductions, and the measure which I shall propose will contain a complete review, on general principles, of all these articles, with a very great alteration of the tariff. We have proceeded, sir, on these principles; first, we desire to remove all prohibition; next, we wish to reduce the duties on raw materials for manufactures to a considerable extent, in some cases the duty we propose being merely nominal, for the purpose more of statistical than revenue objects; in no case, or scarcely any, exceeding, in the case of raw materials, 5 per cent. I speak of course in a general way. Then we propose that the duties on articles partly manufactured shall be materially reduced, never exceeding 12 per cent.; while as to duties on articles wholly manufactured we propose that they shall never exceed 20 per cent.

He would forthwith lay upon the table this amended scale of duties, which had been distributed into 20 different heads; and on Monday the paper would be ready for distribution. It would be found that in about 750 articles there had been an abatement of duty recommended; and that on about 450 the duty had been left untouched. Treaties were now pending with various nations, in which several of these articles were the subjects of discussion; and such articles, of course, could not be included in the present reductions. The total diminution of revenue occasioned by all the reductions would probably not be more than about 270,000*l.* On sugar he regretted to say that the present ministers could not offer any reduction.

I do not deny that if we were wholly unembarrassed by the question of the slave trade, that I should have felt it my duty to propose a considerable alteration on this subject; but, looking at our position with reference to our own West India colonies, and having due regard to our relations with foreign states, and bearing in mind the treaties into which we have entered, I confess I do not see how it would be possible for me with justice or with safety to propose any modification of the duties now collected from sugar; at the same time I am quite prepared to admit that this is a department susceptible of some change. The proposition which I shall have to make will be, not like the measure proposed in the last session of parliament, which would have had the effect of exposing sugar, the produce of British possessions, to foreign competition; but, on the contrary, one which will protect the British producer, while, as I hope, it will do no injury to the consumer.

With respect to coffee, of which the consumption had latterly decreased, he would recommend a great reduction of duty, bringing down the rate per pound to 4d. upon British, and 8d. upon foreign coffee. The loss of revenue, after some allowance for increase of consumption, would probably be 171,000*l.* On the subject of timber, his measure would be the reverse of that which was brought forward by the late ministry. And first, for foreign timber.

I propose that the duty on timber, as distinct from deals, shall be 30s., and on deals 35s. That the duties on sawn timber shall be calculated per cubic foot, and not as heretofore. Besides, I propose that all timber coming from the shores of the Baltic shall be placed upon a footing of equality. In the year ending the 5th of April, 1844, I propose that the duty on foreign timber shall be reduced to 25s., and that the duty on deals shall be reduced to 30s. per load, estimated by its cubic contents; and I propose that the duty on lath timber shall be 20s.

With respect to Canadian timber, of course it is necessary to consider the relation in which Canada stands to this country. And with respect to this part of the subject, I think it is most desirable to act upon this principle, as far as you can with safety to the general interest—namely, that you should treat Canada as if she were an integral part of the kingdom. The distance at which she is placed and the cost of bringing timber here necessarily subject her to some disadvantage, and it appears to me that you have no alternative, but that you must admit Canadian timber at the lowest nominal duty. I therefore propose that the duty on colonial timber shall be reduced to 1s. a load; upon deals to 2s.; and upon lath-wood to 2s.

The loss on these reductions in the timber duty he estimated at 600,000*l.* There were yet two other reductions which he had to propose; one upon the export of certain British manufactures, on which he proposed altogether to remit the duty; the other upon stage coaches, the duty upon which, in point of justice as between them and railway carriages, he proposed considerably to diminish. These two heads of reduction would produce a loss of 70,000*l.* On the whole, these reductions, in addition to the excess of expenditure, would increase the deficit to somewhat more than 3,700,000*l.*; but the estimated produce of the newly-proposed sources of income would not only cover this, but leave more than half a million sterling applicable to the contingencies of our distant wars. Thus he had finished his task. He had done his duty, by making his proposals broadly and without compromise.

But there are occasions, and this is one of them, on which a government can make no compromise. There are occasions, and this is one of them, on which it is the bounden duty of the government to give that counsel to the legislature which it believes to be right, to undertake that responsibility of proposing measures which it believes to be for the public advantage, and to devolve upon the legislature the responsibility of adopting or rejecting those measures. I have, then, on the part of the government, performed my duty. I have proposed, with the full weight and authority of the government, that which I believe to be conducive to the public good. It now devolves upon you to discharge that duty which properly belongs to you, of maturely considering and of fairly deciding on the adoption or the rejection of the measure I have proposed. We have met together at an important period in the annals of the world. There may be a natural tendency to over-rate the magnitude of the crisis in which we live, and of those particular events with which we are immediately concerned; but it is impossible to over-rate the importance of that period in which our lot, and the lot of our fathers has been cast—that period which has elapsed since the outbreak of the first French revolution, and which has been one of the most memorable periods of the history of the world has presented.

The last half century had comprised two great periods—twenty-five years of war and twenty-five years of peace. Countless millions, who would spring from our loins and spread our language over half the world, would ever view with admiration the conduct of England throughout that portion of our history. He trusted that this British parliament would follow the noble example which, during all those times, had been furnished by their predecessors; that they would not now sit with folded arms and hope increased revenue from diminished taxation, nor adopt the miserable expedient of annual loans to meet annually growing deficiencies. He concluded by moving his first resolution, which went to grant a duty upon Irish spirits.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL, after defending the late government, said he hailed the adoption of the liberal principles of commerce developed in the statement of that night, but he lamented that the ministry had not chosen to make some sacrifice upon the important article of sugar, instead of affording so large a relaxation in the timber duty. The measure now proposed was certainly a great one, and, as a great one, it must be accepted or rejected. At all events the government had acted in a manner becoming a great country, and he and his friends would meet them in a spirit free from party bias.

Several members spoke briefly upon various points in the plan developed, but no discussion ensued.

Mr WAKLEY told Sir R. Peel that the country was prepared for a tax upon property, but not for a tax upon income. Under the proposed tax a farmer, who if he was a man of skill, and had capital at command, might, in some cases, have an income of 1,000*l.* a year when his rental did not exceed 300*l.* a year, would be exempt from the payment of an income tax. But a tradesman paying a rental of 200*l.* or 300*l.* a year, but having a capital of not more perhaps than 500*l.* invested in his trade, would be subject to the operation of the income tax. He begged to call the attention of the right hon. baronet to this point, and he trusted that some alteration would be made.

Several resolutions were passed as the foundation of further proceedings, and the House then resumed.

Monday, March 14.

CORN IMPORTATION BILL.

On the House going into committee on this bill, Mr WARD moved for a committee to inquire into the amount of those burdens peculiar to land, which had been pleaded as the reason for a special protection to landed produce. He admitted that whenever taxation ceased to be imposed in equal proportions on different species of property, then the species which was most taxed acquired a legitimate claim to special protection; but he denied that this was the case in reference to landed property.

Taking, then, the burdens which may at present be supposed to press peculiarly on land, according to the latest exposition of them, which was that of the right hon. baronet at Tamworth, they were—1, the poor rates; 2, the county rates; 3, the highway rates; 4, church rates; and 5, tithes. On account of these burdens the right hon. baronet thought that the proposition of a fixed 8s. duty made by the noble lord the member for London (Lord J. Russell), was miserable and parsimonious, and that the agricultural interests were entitled to more protection than this. All minor agricultural grievances had been removed since 1835, even down to the shepherd's dog tax.

With respect to poor rates, he went into calculation to prove that no argument for protection could be maintained on that score.

More than a third of the poor rates was paid by other than the agricultural interest. Every shilling duty, too, imposed on the importation of corn was felt as an additional burden in the maintenance of the poor. Hence the overseers of parish workhouses had been so often found petitioning for being allowed to obtain foreign corn imported duty free for the maintenance of the inmates. The landowners had no further claim for compensation for payment of the poor rates than the inhabitants of Westminster or Marylebone had a right to compensation from the consolidated fund on the same account.

He went over the statistics of the county rates, the highway rates, the church rates, with respect to which he remarked,

The whole church rates of England were only 500,000*l.* on a rental of 40,000,000*l.* one third of this 500,000*l.*, being paid by dissenters. Besides, in every discussion on this subject, the payment of church rates had been represented by gentlemen opposite as a "sacred duty." The hon. baronet (Sir R. Inglis) was very fond of alluding to it in this way, and in a petition which the hon. baronet had presented the other night it had been stated, "that the petitioners viewed with satisfaction the exertions which had been made to increase the number of churches, but that they regretted to observe the attempts made by a small, yet discontented portion of their fellow-subjects, to agitate the church question, in the hope of depriving the church of this most ancient, and most undoubted of her 'rights of property.'" Of course he (Mr Ward) did not consider the church rates in this light, but it was not, surely, for hon. gentlemen opposite at one time to represent the church rates as a sacred duty, and at another as a "special burden," giving a title to exemption. The petitioners to whom he had been referring, spoke of the church rates as a tax not on persons, but on property. He did not subscribe to that, considering these rates as a burden, and an unjust one, upon persons; but it ill became gentlemen opposite, after representing, as they were wont to do, these rates as a sacred right of the church, to speak of it as a peculiar burden upon them, in consideration of which they were entitled to compensation.

He then came to the land tax, which he considered was in lieu of ancient feudal services, and showed it to be a very good bargain on the part of the landowners.

If the tax were levied as had been originally intended, it would amount to nearly 8,000,000*l.* but it had never been increased, though the rent of land had in some cases quadrupled. Moreover, even to the amount at present contributed the house property largely contributed. Comparisons with other countries would put this in a strong light. In Prussia (according to parliamentary documents), the whole revenue being 50,000,000 of thalers, the land tax amounted to 26,630,000 thalers, or about half. In Austria, where the whole taxation produced 164,000,000 florins, the land contributed 87,000,000. In France, out of a revenue of 750,000,000*l.*, the land contributed 359,400,000*l.*; again about in the same proportion of one half. In Belgium, where the revenue was 3,282,000*l.*, the land contributed 778,000*l.*, about one fourth. Whereas in England the land tax did not amount to above 1-25th part of the revenue—it did not amount to above one fourth of what was produced by sugar—not one third of what was paid on the poor man's tobacco—nor to much more than what was paid on soap.

He then went through the assessed taxes, and showed that the agricultural interest bore no more than a fair proportion. Against the "peculiar burdens" contended for, he could show peculiar exemptions. He mentioned stamps on probates, legacy duty, and others, and read extracts from letters to show the ill-will produced by these exemptions.

This was the sort of feeling excited against the farmers by such multifarious exemptions from taxation. He (Mr Ward) spoke not with aught of ill-feeling against them; on the contrary, he thought them a very meritorious class, deserving every encouragement which in justice could be given them. But in the cases he had mentioned he thought they had unfair encouragement, and a preference which was unjust towards the rest of the community; and he believed this preference rankled in the breasts of the population generally. At all events, the agriculturists, enjoying such exemptions, ought not to claim any compensation for what they called "peculiar burdens," which, unless they could be proved much stronger than he had stated them, could by no means sustain their case. It was easy to call everything a "peculiar burden," and he had no doubt that in time the agriculturists would learn to regard the new income tax in that light [a laugh]. The amount of all burdens, then, peculiar or otherwise, tax in that light [a laugh]. The amount of all burdens, then, peculiar or otherwise, (in he had calculated thus:—local, £4,336,000; general, £1,812,000; total, £6,300,000 (in round numbers). From this must be deducted at least £2,000,000 for exemptions from stamp duties, leaving only about £4,300,000 as all that could be said to be payable in any way peculiarly by land out of a rental of £40,000,000.

He then gave various instances of the comparative assessments on landed property and other property, and showed that they were not so disproportionate as to entitle the agriculturist to compensation. With these facts before them he wondered how gentlemen could talk of peculiar burdens on land.

Colonel Wood opposed the motion, and Mr MILNER GIBSON supported it.

Mr DARBY denied that the claim for protection rested upon peculiar burdens on land; it was to secure the country against the danger of starvation from an extensive discontinuance of corn culture.

Dr BOWRING suggested that the committee should extend their inquiry to the topic mentioned by Mr Darby.

Mr SCARLETT objected to the committee, and Mr CHILDERS urged its appointment.

Sir R. PEEL complained of the time of the House being wasted by these useless discussions, in the absence of all expectation that the opinion expressed by them could be altered. He protested against the tactics of Mr Ward, who had brought forward his motion in a form wholly different from his notice.

The hon. gentleman, as it was perfectly competent for him to do on the notice day, brought forward his motion for a committee to inquire into the burdens on land. The hon. gentleman joined issue with me, whether we should go into the subject or take the opinion of the House on this question, that no Corn Law bill should pass till this committee had made the inquiry and reported; and I say that the hon. gentleman ought, consistently with all fairness and the usage of parliament, to bring forward that motion. It is something perfectly novel for an hon. gentleman to give notice of a motion, and without saying a single word to those opposed to him of his intention to change his notice, to make the whole of his speech on that notice, and then, in conclusion, to put into the Speaker's hands a motion of a perfectly different nature. I ask whether or no it is fitting that a committee perfectly fairly constituted should be appointed to consider this question? This I will say, that I will on no account consent to the suspension of the Corn Law Bill until such a committee shall have been appointed, and have made its report. But I separate altogether from that question whether or no it is fitting to suspend inquiry.

He did not rest his case solely on the existence of special burdens on land; that was only one of the reasons for this law. He cited Dr Adam Smith and Mr Ricardo to disprove Mr Ward's assertions respecting tithes and church rates. He did not believe the landed interest had any repugnance to the inquiry sought.

They have not told me that they thought it essential for their interest that inquiry should be absolutely excluded on this subject; but I can assure the hon. gentleman that that inquiry will be of rather longer continuance than he apprehends, and when he comes down with his authority, great as may be the personal respect shown to the hon. gentleman, there are others who will differ from him. And, after all, I am not for one, prepared to go along with the conclusions to which this committee may come. I think it excessively difficult to form an opinion upon what is the exact amount of the special burdens imposed on the land; it is a matter depending on reasoning rather than on the positive dicta of 15 gentlemen of a committee. The church rate—pretty nearly the whole of the maintenance of the established church—is on the land. I don't at all deny that in the towns a large proportion of that rate is not so paid; but the land does pay a very large proportion of the amount levied generally for the maintenance of the parish churches.

If the committee were appointed the inquiry would be a very long one, and embrace many topics. For instance, one subject of examination would be, how stock and the profits of trade had escaped from the poor's rate? Another question would be upon the malt tax, which some contended was a levy of ten millions wholly from the land. It must be admitted, indeed, that the consumer paid part of that tax; but then the tax diminished the consumption: so that the relative proportions of contribution from each class were matters of very nice and difficult computation. He could not be content to wait a three years' investigation, and would oppose the present motion.

Mr STRUTT, Mr COBDEN, and Mr VILLIERS supported the motion of Mr Ward, and Lord WORSLEY opposed it.

Lord HOWICK said that he should have voted for Mr Ward's proposition had it been made on Thursday last; but, as under present circumstances he considered it only delayed the progress of important government business, he would oppose it.

Mr DUNCOMBE was surprised at Lord Howick's distinction. He should like to know whose duty it was to make a House. Mr CANNING, upon an occasion of like kind, said it belonged to the government.

Mr Canning said that he considered the most important duty of certain classes of gentlemen connected with government, such as lords of the treasury, under-secretaries, clerks of the Board of Control, and all of that genus, was—first, to make a House; secondly, to keep a House; and, thirdly, to cheer the ministers. He (Mr T. Duncombe) was delighted to intimate this to the hon. gentlemen opposite, who were, no doubt, greatly indebted to him for the information. He thought they ought to know who were responsible for making a House, in order that they might, as far as possible, prevent the motions of independent members being defeated in this way. He would certainly have voted last Thursday for the motion of the hon. member for Sheffield, and not being like the noble lord the member for Sunderland, he should vote for it to-night.

The House then divided, when there appeared—Ayes, 230; Noes, 115; majority against Mr Ward's motion, 115.

The House then went into committee, and Sir V. BLAKE addressed the chairman on the second clause. He recommended some encouragement to the production of potato-flour, and moved to fill up the first blank with a date which would have the effect of suspending the payment of the duties till April, 1843. His amendment was negatived without a division.

Mr PARKER (Sheffield) moved a clause enabling an importer to make an entry of corn not actually arrived, such entry to be available provided the corn should arrive within four months from the time of entry. Sir R. PEEL resisted the proposal as tending to encourage speculation. After some conversation the clause was negatived.

Mr POULETT SCROPE proposed that foreign corn should be admissible at the duties of the day on which the foreign ships importing it cleared out. Sir R. PEEL observed, that this proposal, like Mr Parker's, was objectionable as tending to discourage warehousing. Another conversation took place, and the suggestion was negatived.

Clauses one to eight were then agreed to, and the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

On Thursday evening Lord STANHOPE moved for a return of the number of union workhouses at present in England and Wales, and the number established in each year from 1836 to 1841 inclusive, and also of the number congregated in each union workhouse in each year.

Lord DENMAN brought forward a bill for the purpose of affording relief to baptists, who entertained religious scruples about taking oaths.

On Monday night, the Lord Chancellor presented the report of the

select committee on the laws relating to presbyterian marriages in Ireland.

Lord BROUGHAM said it was his intention to call their lordships' attention to the income tax of Sir R. Peel, as one of an inquisitorial character, and directed against industry, instead of real property, and as a tax that ought never to be resorted to but in extreme emergency. He would give their lordships an opportunity to express their opinions on the subject to-morrow (Tuesday) night; for which purpose he should move the following resolutions:—

"That a direct tax upon income ought never to be resorted to, unless in some great emergency of public affairs, when an extraordinary expenditure may become unavoidable for a time, or in some pressure upon the finances of the country, which can be sustained by no other means.

"2. That such a tax ought on no account to form part of the ordinary revenue of the state, but to cease with the necessity which alone could justify its imposition—inasmuch as, besides all the other objections to which it is liable, its inquisitorial operation being equally vexatious whatever sums are levied, the facility of increasing its amount according to the real or supposed exigencies of the public service offers a constant temptation to extravagance on the part of the government, removing the most effectual check upon improvident expenditure, and dispensing with the necessity of seeking a revenue in retrenchment.

"3. That although the actual deficiency in the revenue to meet the expenditure, amounting to above £7,500,000 in five years, and the estimated deficiency for next year, amounting to above £2,500,000, besides probable demands arising from the state of affairs in the East, may render the temporary recourse to an income tax necessary, after an attempt to increase by 1-20th the duties of excise and customs had ended in obtaining a 200th only, thereby proving the impossibility of drawing any further revenue from increased taxes on consumption, while the relief which may justly be expected both to commerce and to finance, from lowering those taxes, cannot be made immediately available, yet it behoves the parliament, as faithful guardians of the people's rights and interests, to take care that during the temporary existence of this tax its pressure shall be distributed in such a manner as shall make it most easily and most patiently borne.

"4. That with this view it is first of all necessary to satisfy the people that there shall be no invidious exemptions, but that the highest personages in the state shall be permitted to bear their due of a burden which absolute necessity alone could warrant the parliament to impose.

"5. That with the same view it is expedient to make a distinction between income arising from capital of every description and income arising from labour, merely by levying a smaller proportion of the latter income than the former.

"6. That with the same view it is expedient to make a distinction between income possessed by persons who have only an interest in the same for their lives, or for some lesser term, and income possessed by persons who have an interest in the capital whence the income arises, levying a larger proportion of the latter income than of the former.

"7. That with the same view it is expedient to make no distinction in favour of persons in the civil service of the state, or of persons receiving pensions from the state.

"8. That it is neither consistent with justice nor with sound policy to levy a greater proportion of tax upon larger incomes than upon smaller incomes; and that an exemption of even the smallest income from the operation of the tax can only be justified on the supposition that the owners are wholly unable to pay it.

"9. That while it is the duty of the people to bear those burdens which are necessary for supporting the credit of the country, and maintaining the security of its widely extended dominions, it is equally the duty of parliament to afford them every practicable relief by enforcing the most rigorous economy in all departments of the public service, by discouraging all proceedings which may endanger the continuance of peace, and by adopting whatever measures may best conduce to the improvement of our commercial resources; and that it is in an especial manner incumbent, without any delay, to remove any income tax that may be imposed, as soon as it shall appear that the ordinary branches of the revenue shall have recovered from their temporary depression."

GENERAL POLITICS.

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

A great aggregate meeting of the deputies from the various branches of the Anti-corn-law association was held on Monday, at the association's office, for the purpose of considering what measure ought to be adopted for the future agitation of total and immediate repeal of the corn laws, and of expressing their opinions on the subject of "non-payment of taxes, and total abstinence from all excisable articles, such as beer, spirits, wines, and tobacco, until the corn laws will have been abolished." Joseph Hume, Esq., was called to the chair. Mr Sidney Smith proposed a series of resolutions, one of which recommended that simultaneous meetings should be held (on a day to be named) throughout the country in support of free trade. The business committee doubted that abstinence from excisable articles would succeed in London, and did not, therefore, so far as they were concerned, recommend that course. The meeting was addressed by Col. Thompson, Mr Milner Gibson, M.P., and numerous other gentlemen.

The Cobbett club held their annual public dinner on Thursday evening, at the Crown and Anchor tavern, Strand, in celebration of the birth of the late Mr William Cobbett, M.P. About fifty gentlemen sat down to dinner, and among the company was Mr O'Connell, M.P. Mr Fielden, M.P., filled the chair, and, after extolling the writings of Mr Cobbett, and remarking on the fact that at the present time they were regarded as the text-book of the real friends of liberty, he stated that in his (the Chairman's) opinion the only remedy for the present national distress and class legislation was to follow the example of Cobbett by advocating the right of the people to the suffrage. After several toasts had been proposed, among which was one for "universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and annual parliaments," Mr O'Connell addressed the company present in a humorous and effective speech, during which he forcibly dwelt on the evils of our present system of legislation, and recommended a cordial union of the middle and working classes, as the only means of obtaining the rights of either. Several other toasts were proposed, and the company separated at a late hour.

The sixty-ninth anniversary meeting of the Medical society of London, was held yesterday week, when Henry Hancock, Esq., delivered the oration. It was principally devoted to the influences of the present state and habits of society upon health. He noticed the excited state of all classes, by the competition in trade, commerce, and manufactures, and the necessity for taxing every power of the mind and body to the utmost to obtain a living, as highly injurious to health. He also adverted to the injudicious educating of children, and the constrained and artificial modes adopted by the higher classes, particularly in the education of females. He stated that among the lower orders the use of opium had increased to an alarming degree, which he ascribed to the sudden abandonment of ardent spirits under the influence of the temperance societies, producing a change so violent as to drive the poor creatures to the use of this pernicious drug. Dr Cluttbuck, the chairman, then proceeded to award the annual Fothergillian gold medal, to Dr J. R. Bennett, of No. 24, Finsbury place, son of the Rev. Dr Bennett, for the best essay on acute Hydrocephalus.

He stated he had a most agreeable task in presenting it to very distinguished merit. There were that year five candidates, and he was authorised by the adjudicators to say that all the essays were of so much merit that they would gladly have rewarded each, but they were compelled to choose one, and the choice fell upon one of their most distinguished members, Dr J. Risdon Bennett. The decision was always made without the slightest knowledge of who was the author, and therefore the utmost impartiality was secured. He said he had read the essay, and had never met with anything more satisfactory to his own feelings and judgment. It had treated the subject to his admiration. For depth of research, methodical arrangement, and above all, great practical deductions, it stands unrivaled. Dr Clutterbuck had paid great attention to the subject himself, and he had therefore considerable opportunities of forming an opinion. The gold medal, a very beautiful specimen of the art, valued at 20 guineas, was then presented to Dr Bennett, amidst the applause of a numerous assembly.

PROVINCIAL.

Another candidate for Brighton has appeared, in the person of Mr John Nicholson, of Fenchurch street, London. In his address, he says, "It is a principle of the constitution of England that taxation and representation should be co-extensive." Mr Brooker, of Alfriston, who was a candidate at the last election, has issued a similar address.

A Complete Suffrage association has been formed at Leicester, which already numbers upwards of eight hundred members, principally parliamentary electors. The first general meeting was held on Monday evening last.

At a meeting of the Southampton Reform association, on Tuesday night, a resolution in favour of an extension of the suffrage to every male above the age of twenty-one, of sound mind, and untainted by crime, was unanimously passed; and it was resolved to hold a public meeting on the subject on Easter Monday, the day on which it is intended to hold simultaneous meetings in all parts of the country.

A meeting of the Manchester Young Men's Anti-monopoly association was held on the 7th inst., chiefly "to consider whether the restriction of the suffrage is a monopoly that comes within the rules of the association." After addresses from several speakers in favour of the suffrage being included in the catalogue of monopolies, an amendment was moved to the effect that "the question of the suffrage is not included in the term monopoly as expressed in the rules of the association." After a speech from Mr R. Gardner, pointing out the fallacy of maintaining that the suffrage as now existing was not a monopoly, the amendment was negatived by a large majority.

A large and very important meeting, consisting of the manufacturers, farmers, and working men of the town and neighbourhood, was held in the market place of Bradford, Wiltshire, on the 8th inst., and was attended by upwards of 3,000 people. A strong feeling of indignation against Sir R. Peel's new corn bill, and of the necessity of a full, fair, and free representation of the people as the only means of destroying class legislation, pervaded the meeting. Eloquent speeches were delivered by Messrs Roberts and Vincent in support of the charter, and the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—"That this meeting is of opinion that the only plan of repealing the corn laws is by giving political power to the people, through the adoption of the principles set forth in the document called the people's charter."

At an Anti-corn-law meeting held in the Wesleyan Methodist chapel in Towyn, in the county of Monmouth, the following resolution was unanimously carried:—"That this meeting is of opinion that the corn laws are highly injurious to the nation at large, but more particularly to the industrious classes; and further declare that they consider that nothing short of their total repeal will remove the present suffering which prevails among the working men of this country; and they regard Sir R. Peel's proposition as a complete mockery."

On Monday the 7th inst. Mr O'Connor delivered a lecture in the Manchester Hall of Science to upwards of 2,000 persons, on the "capabilities of land;" and on Tuesday was to have delivered a second lecture on the repeal of the union, chiefly for the benefit of the Irish population of the town. They however did not fully appreciate the disinterestedness of their new *soi-disant* leader, and determined to revenge themselves on him for his base and malicious designs on Mr O'Connell, at Leeds. Accordingly they attempted to appoint their own chairman, and a dispute arose between the belligerent parties which soon came to blows. A riot now ensued, during which the tables, forms, desks, gas pipes, &c. in the hall, were broken to pieces and converted into weapons. Many persons were severely hurt during the affray. O'Connor retreated through one of the back doors at the commencement.

It has been determined by the government to erect barracks for 1,500 soldiers on Fulwood moor, near Preston, formerly the race course.

SCOTLAND.

A very numerous and highly important meeting was held in the Court house, Aberdeen, on Tuesday the 8th inst., to express their opinion of the government measure on the corn laws, as introduced by Sir Robert Peel, and also take such steps as might be deemed advisable under the present circumstances of the country. The Court house was crowded to excess; and, in consequence of the insufficient room, it was found necessary soon after the proceedings commenced to adjourn to the Pavilion, where upwards of 3,000 persons assembled. Three distinct parties were present—middle-class men, moderate chartists, and chartists of the O'Connor school; yet there was little or no clashing of interests, and the few apparent interruptions to the harmony of the meeting served only to enliven the proceedings. The extreme chartists, much to their credit, set aside the advice of their chief, O'Connor, and allowed a resolution, condemnatory of the corn laws, to be passed first; such of the middle-class men as did not choose to commit themselves to the charter, were content to decline voting for the resolution in which the charter points were virtually embodied; and the whole meeting, notwithstanding the foolish attempts of one or two individuals to excite suspicion and jealousy, joined in hearty congratulation on the progress that is making, by means of Joseph Sturge's "new move," towards a complete union of the middle and working classes.—*Aberdeen Herald*.

On Wednesday the 9th inst., a public meeting of the inhabitants of Bannockburn and vicinity was held, to consider the propriety of establishing an association to aid in securing to the people a full, fair, and free representation in the house of Commons. After an eloquent and convincing address from Mr Robert Lowery, the following resolution was agreed to without one dissident:—"That in the opinion of this meeting, the alarming distress which now exists throughout the country is chiefly to be attributed to the operation of bad laws, resulting from class legislation, and that the only efficient remedy that can be adopted to restore trade—to ensure prosperity to the producer and protection to the capitalist, is contained in the document called the "people's charter;" and this meeting pledges itself to agitate for the measure, and never to cease in its exertions until the rights of all are fully represented in the Commons house of parliament; and that we may more effectually carry out the above object, we agree to form ourselves into an association for that purpose."

Sir R. Peel was burnt in effigy at Preston-Pans, amidst the execrations of an assembled multitude; and at a meeting of the Anti-corn-law association to denounce the sliding scale, it was resolved to agitate for an extension of the suffrage.

At a meeting held at Wick, on the 5th inst., to protest against Sir R. Peel's new corn law, the Provost in the chair, Mr Swanton moved as an amendment Mr Sturge's declaration in favour of complete suffrage; but the chairman refused to put the amendment, and after some uproar vacated the chair. Another chairman was appointed, and the amendment of Mr Swanton was carried by a large majority. The "declaration" has received about 400 signatures.

A very large number of the inhabitants of Hawick are preparing to leave the town and neighbourhood for America, to seek in a foreign clime that employment and remuneration which the selfishness of a class denies to them at home.

It was formerly announced that some provisions were about to be sent from New York for the starving operatives of Paisley. Since that time the bill of landing for fifteen barrels of beef and bones for making soup has come to hand, to be placed at the disposal of the provost and the Rev. Mr M'Naughton. On receipt of the invoice a petition was forwarded by these gentlemen to Sir Robert Peel, for remission of the duty, and the petition has at once been granted.

POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, March 16, 1842.

In the House of Commons last night Mr Baring asked the question of which he had given notice, as to the mode in which government intend to collect the income tax. Sir R. Peel said he could not explain the proposed machinery, consistently with a sense of his public duty, until the fitting time arrived. Lord Howick thought it very hard to call upon the House on Friday to assent to the tax, without giving them any previous information as to the mode of collection.

Dr Bowring brought forward a resolution to the effect that there should be a continuance of our inquiries into the efficacy of the quarantine system, and to carry out any negotiations for such modifications as might be judged consistent with the public safety and the interests of commerce. In support of his resolution, he entered into details respecting the annoyances and inconveniences inflicted on individuals, and the absurd treatment of despatches and correspondence, under the operation of the quarantine system, which was wholly useless as a protection from the plague. Sir Robert Peel assented to the motion.

Sir Andrew Leith Hay brought forward his motion respecting the state of the church of Scotland. After giving a sketch of the various circumstances out of which the present difficulties of the Scotch church have arisen, he contended that the government must interfere, in order to prevent the disastrous consequences likely to ensue from collision between the general assembly and the civil courts. Sir James Graham felt great respect for the Scottish establishment, and sincerely regretted the recent divisions. It was true that the present ministers, two years ago, had declared the necessity of some attempt to settle this question; but they had even then observed how much more difficult that settlement had become by the delays of the late government, and certainly the ulterior delay which had since intervened had considerably aggravated that difficulty. At this moment there were legal questions pending before the court of Session, the decision whereof would go far to settle the matters in dispute; and such a moment was one peculiarly unfit for legislation. The present government were determined firmly to enforce obedience to the law of the land, of which the Assembly's Veto act did not form a part, and they did not, therefore, contemplate legislation on the subject. Mr Fox Maule took a different view of what was the law of the land. The church of Scotland had an independent spiritual jurisdiction, guaranteed by legislative enactment; and he deeply regretted the determination of the government not to interfere in a question involving so much of difficulty and practical doubt. He entered into the question in its various bearings, and expressed his regret at the decision of government. After some observations from Mr A. Campbell in favour of, and from Mr Cochrane, Mr C. Bruce, and Mr Duff, against the motion, it was withdrawn. Mr Campbell afterwards moved for a committee of inquiry into the constitution of the church of Scotland, which was also refused by Sir J. Graham; Sir R. Peel remarking that the government were quite determined as to their treatment of the question, and, being so, they left it to shabby governments to shift responsibility to other shoulders.

Mr Ferrand moved for copies of convictions under the act against the truck system. He declared himself ready to prove a strong case of oppression by the masters upon their workmen, and to falsify those denials of truck-dealing which some of the manufacturers had sent to the House. After a few words from Mr Scholefield, the return was ordered.

In the house of Lords, Lord Brougham postponed his intended resolutions on the subject of the new income tax until Thursday evening.

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE, THIS DAY.

The supply of English wheat is small; and of foreign, moderate. There is no alteration from Monday's prices; and but very little business doing.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

- "B. Evans" next week.
 The "True Scotsman." We accede to his request with pleasure.
 "A Fellow-creature." We are not aware of the feelings which he imputes to us. If it suited his convenience we should be glad of an interview.
 "O" will see that the subject of his letter has been dealt with in our Summary.
 "A Back-bone Nonconformist." We cannot spare room for further controversy on the subject.
 "A Chartist." If he will send us a clear and definite statement of his complaint we will give it insertion.
 "C. Lee," we are obliged reluctantly to decline.
 "A Constant Reader." What may be the effect of Christianity we do not dispute; its claim to uniformity we cannot think established by the passages adduced.

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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16, 1842.

SUMMARY.

THE accounts received from the theatre of war confirm the worst fears which rumour had excited. The destruction of 6,000 men in Afghanistan, and the total overthrow of our recently acquired power in that quarter, together with the unsatisfactory progress of the Chinese affair, tend to illustrate pretty clearly the wisdom of that foreign policy pursued by the whigs, which, in the first flush of unjust triumph, was lauded to the skies; and to read a severe admonitory lesson, in the shape of humiliation and an income tax, to those respectable and religious middle classes whose acquiescence, if not applause, were always at the command of the whig cabinet. They have had their shout—their party shout—at the expense of national honour and international justice. They have now to bear their burden; retribution has come home to them. The confusion and misery, which with such eagerness they sought to heap upon others, have recoiled upon their own heads. Unjustifiable ambition, commercial avidity, and party feeling, combined their forces to kindle the wars which now blaze in the eastern hemisphere, and all reap their appropriate reward. Our fame has been sullied; avarice has not only been disappointed in its expectations, but must now bear the tax which its fruitless efforts have rendered necessary; and the failure, in every instance, of the foreign schemes of that government, which party feeling, not love of principle, persisted in supporting, has given the *coup-de-grace* to the contempt with which they are overwhelmed.

Large preparations are making, we are told, to retrieve the disaster which has befallen our arms. Eight thousand men are to be shipped off immediately for India and China. More blood is to be shed, more money wasted, and the nation is to be plunged yet deeper into dishonour and crime; and yet, strange to say, not a single public remonstrance is heard. The ministers of peace utter no warning. The professed friends of the poor stand by in silence. Fierce threats of revenge find a readier response than just and pacific counsels, and aristocracy is allowed to offer up its hecatombs of human victims upon the shrine of what is called national glory, almost without a disapproving remark. Such is the civilisation, such the refined Christian feeling, of our middle classes in the nineteenth century. Aptly enough have they learned the shibboleth of the higher ranks, whose martial tastes have been at once the curse and the burden of Great Britain. Slow enough are they to unteach themselves the barbarous maxims which feudalism set afloat upon the surface of European society. They are now re-enacting the deeds of blood for which they condemned the Hastings and the Clive of other days, and, as surely as there is justice in heaven, so surely will they have to drink deep of the cup of retributive vengeance. It is now handed back to them, and they are compelled reluctantly to taste it. What will be the intensity of its bitterness, what the gauge of its contents, before they have done with it, it falls not within the scope of human foresight to conjecture.

Parliamentary affairs have been somewhat brisk. On Wednesday night Lord John Russell, the present leader of her Majesty's opposition, took his debate; and a heavy thing it was, neither enlivened with novelty, nor rendered valuable by its wisdom. Lord Howick and Mr Shiel were the new speakers on the occasion, but they can scarcely be said to have invested the subject with any fresh interest. The speech of the noble lord was one of those unique specimens of reasoning for which he is so justly celebrated. Every argument adduced was in favour of free trade, but the conclusion to which they floated him was the whig scheme of fixed duty and moderate protection to the landowners. Thus it has ever been with the leaders of that party. They cast themselves like chips upon a rapid current, and are sure to be stranded half way between their starting point and their natural conclusion, by some of those mud banks of aristocratic prejudice with which the political waters in this country abound. The debate terminated in a division which gave Sir R. Peel a majority of 108.

On Friday the Premier made his financial statement, of which the following may be considered its characteristic features—a growing deficiency of the revenue, with an increased expenditure to be provided for—a perfect impossibility of further supplies from tax-

ation on articles of consumption—a consequent resort to direct taxation, to be levied upon the income of the country at the rate of 3 per cent.—and finally a revision of our tariff for the relief of the manufacturing and commercial interests. An analysis of the minister's speech will be found in our parliamentary report, and our own comment upon his plan of finance we have reserved for another column. On Monday night Mr Ward moved that a select committee be appointed to inquire "whether there are any special burdens peculiarly affecting the landed interest of this country, or any special exemptions enjoyed by that interest." His motion was, of course, rejected by a large majority. The debate tended to elicit a considerable amount of desirable information, and will go far, we hope, to gag the cry which has been raised for the protection of the landowner, on the ground of the peculiar burdens which land is called to bear. The sheer whigs evidently took no pleasure in the tactics of the member for Sheffield, and insisted, by means of Lord Howick, upon the necessity of supporting Sir R. Peel's measure on the ground of public convenience. He deprecated the amendment proposed by Mr Ward, and unable to conceal the crotchety nature of his own mind, declared that had it come forward on Thursday, as was originally intended, it was his full intention to have supported it.

In the house of Lords but little public business of moment has been transacted. Lord Denman's bill for improving the mode of taking evidence in our courts of law appears to have met with the most favourable reception, and we trust he may yet enlarge his Baptist Affirmation bill, so as to include all classes of the community. The resolutions of Lord Brougham upon the subject of the income tax, to be proposed this night (Tuesday) to the hereditary House, will doubtless be read with deep interest.

The news from the provinces may be regarded on the whole as indicating a favourable change in public opinion. If reconciliation between the middle and labouring classes does not proceed at so rapid a pace as some were inclined to expect, if those who have borne the brunt of battle for the people's charter exhibit some tenacity of affection for that document, and some suspicion respecting Mr Sturge's movement, we know not why either surprise, or indeed regret, should be felt. We believe that the parties who have recently stood forward on behalf of equal political rights, would be much better pleased to obtain for the working classes the full extent of their demand, than to give them any present instalment of their rights, even although that instalment might certainly carry within itself every principle to which the working men are pledged. That, under the misguiding influence of Mr Feargus O'Connor, the basest motives should be here and there imputed to them, can scarcely be wondered at, and excites no indignation. We have little doubt that any irritation of feeling which may at present prevent a complete and hearty union, will be soothed down into tranquillity by the conference to be held at Birmingham on the 5th of April. We take this opportunity of notifying that any silence on the part of the provisional committee, in regard to the numerous correspondents who have seen fit to address them, must be ascribed, not to inattention on their part, but to the absence of Mr Joseph Sturge on his anti-slavery mission to Paris; and that, although he is now returned, some little interval must pass before the arrears can be possibly disposed of.

Mr O'Connor has narrowly escaped the fate of Actæon, at least, if we may take his word for the fact. This gentleman, it will be remembered, who ridiculed what he called "the humbug of moral force," and who incited the operatives at Leeds to give Daniel O'Connell "a taste of tar and feathers," has reaped a slight breeze of that whirlwind which he has been but too assiduous to sow. He was to have lectured on Tuesday night, at Manchester, on the repeal of the union, and the friends of Daniel O'Connell resolved to pay O'Connor in his own coin. They went prepared to create a hubbub—they obtained admission to the lecture room—they prevented O'Connor from addressing the audience—and, after driving him and his chairman from the place, proceeded to the work of demolition. Deeply as we regret this outburst of physical force, we think Feargus O'Connor should be the last man to complain of it; and his ascription of what was so natural in itself to the machinations of the Anti-corn-law league, placed side by side with the fancied *auto da fe's* of himself, which he has witnessed with such heroic fortitude at Birmingham and Stockport, indicates the waning of his influence, and the necessity under which he is placed of throwing around himself the air of a martyr, lest the power and affections of the mass should slip out of his hands. He has yet to learn that a permanent place in the hearts of our fellow men can only be secured by doing justice and loving mercy.

COMPLETE SUFFRAGE.—WHIG SOPHISTRIES.

IN taking the field again on behalf of complete suffrage considered as a right, we feel that, some apology is due to our readers. We have heretofore entered so largely on this question, we have so systematically expounded our views, we have endeavoured to deal with the question so entirely on the ground of its own intrinsic merits, so apart from the trickery and bitterness of controversy, that were we now to decline mere party conflict, we think we might plead sufficient justification. We have no taste for newspaper conflicts. Ordinarily, we deem them to be worse than useless. They are seldom conducted in a truthful spirit. In most cases they are but the clash of wits, in which victory, not truth, is the object contended for. Would it were otherwise! The press of this country might be omnipotent, were it not hired out to the highest bidder. Pay, we fear, not principle, superintends and directs its movements. There is nothing so base which it will not advocate, nothing so righteous which it will not oppose, for the sake of pecuniary profit.

The trickery, the low craft of the newspaper press of this country, is the worst feature of the present times. Perpetually descending upon the hollowness of our rulers, it is itself the hollowest of all public things. To suppress what is not popular, to put forth statements which have been refuted a thousand times, to cater for the prevailing taste, to feed even to repletion the prejudices of subscribers, to tickle their vanity, to foster class antipathies, to misstate, to conceal, to brag, to vilify, just as it may seem most expedient for the occasion, constitute, unhappily, the staple practice of modern journalism. We might illustrate this by numerous instances—by the ridiculous assumptions of the *Morning Advertiser*, which, though it has never contained five articles on the suffrage, ascribes to itself the credit of the new movement—and by the conduct of the *Leeds Mercury*, which, professing to grapple with an argument it is unable to master, fights with another question, and misrepresents the opinions of the antagonist it has chosen to meet. In sober earnestness, we are well nigh sick of meeting insincerity, and running a tilt against the trickiness of public journalists in this country. We feel greatly inclined to pursue our own course, and leave them to pursue theirs—and to leave time and events to show which is the worthier. But to such a rule there are exceptions; and one such claims notice at the present moment.

A short time since the *Leeds Mercury* contained an article, the object of which was to demonstrate the *impolicy* of complete suffrage. The communication to which we give insertion below was consequent upon the publication of that article.

To the Editors of the Leeds Mercury.

GENTLEMEN—Before you again write upon the impolicy of complete suffrage, will you be kind enough to lay down some plain intelligible principle by which we may test the propriety of the constituency existing as at present; or, in other words, show that the suffrage is not a ‘right,’ which every person of mature age and untainted by crime may justly demand; and also what ought to be a separating line between the elector and non-elect. Blackstone says, that according to the constitution of England ‘no man can be called upon to pay any taxes without his own consent, or that of his representatives in parliament;’ and unless you can show that this axiom is false in principle, all your reasoning against an extension of the suffrage goes to show that in your opinion it is unsafe and unwise to do what is morally right. First prove that we may without injustice withhold the suffrage, and then with some decency you may talk about the impolicy of its extension. But if you cannot do this, then ‘let us do right and leave the consequences with God.’

Yours, &c.,
“A DISTANT READER.”

“Market Harborough, 2nd March, 1842.”

This letter the *Leeds Mercury* inserts, and thereupon enters upon a lengthened argument to prove that the franchise is neither a constitutional nor a natural right.

We beg to submit to the *Leeds Mercury*, that were his reasoning perfect, it would furnish no reply to the inquiry of his correspondent. There are rights which, although they belong not to man in a state of nature, and although they might be expressly disavowed by the constitution of the realm, must yet be considered indefeasible and universal. Such a right is that of “protection.” It is a right arising out of the very end of social organisation, and belongs to every subject of human government considered as such. No man can claim it but as he sustains a relationship to society, and yet it rests not with society to confer or to withhold it. It is what is equitably due to, and what therefore may be demanded by, every individual whose natural liberty is abridged for great public ends. It is a right—and although it were possible to prove that the constitution has nowhere recognised it, and easy to show that it belongs not to men in a state of nature, the reasoning upon the basis of which the right is established remains perfectly intact. So it is with the franchise. Neither the correspondent of the *Leeds Mercury*, nor the *Nonconformist*, which it quotes to misrepresent, has uttered a syllable which can be fairly understood as identifying the franchise with man’s natural rights. But have we proved nothing? Or is the position we have taken up, we will not say demonstrated to be untenable, but even so much as threatened, by the arguments of our opponent? It is of small avail, therefore, to disprove what has never been asserted—for, dexterously as the work may be accomplished, it leaves the whole matter just where it found it.

Some such conclusion as this appears to have forced itself upon the mind of the *Leeds Mercury*. For having taken pains to prove that the suffrage is not a natural right, which no one that we are aware of has ventured to affirm, it virtually surrenders its whole case. We quote, in illustration of this remark, the following passage—

“But the right to a political franchise is of a very different nature. Though founded upon natural rights, it is called into existence by society, and it finds its limits in the well-being of that society. It must, therefore, be open to regulation, and ought to be regulated with an honest regard to the good of the whole nation.”

True! “the good of the whole nation,” in other words, and those the words of our contemporary, “security for good government” is the end contemplated by the elective franchise. Now we ask the *Leeds Mercury* fairly to grapple with the following question. If the franchise contemplates the “good of the whole nation,” who is to be the ultimate judge as to what is thus good and what not? a class, or the people? That may be very good government in the eyes of the aristocracy, which our trading, manufacturing, and commercial population protest against as arbitrary and ruinous. The middle classes may be very well satisfied with laws which afford the millions of working men no protection, which rob them of the rights of labour, and grind them to the dust with oppressive taxation. To whom belongs the right of determining what is good government and what sheer tyranny? Who, in equity, must be regarded as the ultimate judge? All, or a few? If all, then how is that judgment to be fairly embodied? How, but by a vote—by equal representation?

That the right is bound by certain restrictions, which, as we have before urged, are “part and parcel of it, without which it can have no practical being,” is admitted—but these restrictions cannot be held to destroy the principle, until it is shown that a rule to which exceptions can be found is no rule at all. The *Leeds Mercury* may stretch our language, or rather, deliberately alter it to make it fit his theory and square with his objections—but his attempt to do so only proves that he is at once conscious of the weakness of his own position, and by no means particular as to the means he adopts with a view to cover it. The substitution of the term “good men” for “good subjects”—and the interpretation of “independence,” which we had expressly stated ourselves to mean personal and legal, as including that which is social and moral, is just one of those tricks of controversy which cannot be practised unintentionally, and which, when resorted to, deprive a writer of all claim to a respectful reply. We deeply regret to see the *Leeds Mercury* falling into so mean and disreputable a habit; and we earnestly implore it, for the sake of its character and its unquestionable influence, to drop these “tricks of trade,” and argue the matter out in a manly and upright spirit.

Whether complete suffrage is sanctioned by our present constitution, is a question of comparatively minor importance. The *Leeds Mercury* denies that it is, and unfortunately for itself establishes the very thing it had undertaken to demolish. The principle of our constitution it clearly shows to have been, taxation, co-extensive only with representation.

“The real explanation of the matter is this—In ancient times, when the king wanted money, he summoned his parliament, consisting of representatives from the boroughs and counties; those representatives granted him what they or their constituents thought proper; and then the money was levied in the way of assessment or direct tax on the inhabitants of the boroughs and on the owners of land in counties. But all who paid these contributions or taxes were persons possessed of more or less property. Those who paid in most cases had votes for the representatives. But the labourers did not pay, neither did they vote.”

We are surprised our contemporary did not perceive that his own account of the matter upsets his argument. If the labourers did not vote, because they did not pay, and all who paid taxes were entrusted with the franchise, then the principle is, “representation, co-extensive with taxation.” But this principle would in these times give us “complete suffrage”—for taxes are laid upon all, and bear upon none more heavily than upon the poor. This branch of the argument, however, we reserve for another number.

EASTER MONDAY.

THE circular of the provisional committee of the “Birmingham Complete Suffrage association,” inserted in our last number, recommending the friends of complete suffrage to hold simultaneous meetings of those who have signed the memorial to the Queen, which embodies Mr Sturge’s declaration, will, we understand, be generally acted upon. The objects to be kept in view are the appointment of delegates to the ensuing conference, the settlement of the instructions with which such delegates are to be furnished, and the adoption of petitions to the House of Commons, with a view to support the motion of Mr Sharman Crawford. Wherever fifty subscribers to the declaration can be found, we trust they will avail themselves of that day to meet for these purposes. The parliamentary proceedings of the last fortnight must surely convince every sincere friend of his country, that nothing is to be hoped for but from a thorough reform of our legislative machinery. The necessity is now laid upon every man to make some sacrifice of ease and of property in order to save the nation from destruction. Nothing can be done until the middle and labouring classes cordially shake hands. Such a consummation must necessarily be preceded by dispassionate discussion, and frank comparison of notes. For this an opportunity is now afforded, and we earnestly hope that the importance of the occasion will be fully appreciated by both parties.

THE PROPOSED INCOME TAX.

THE principal and all-engrossing feature of the Peel budget, submitted on Friday evening last to the country, through the House of Commons, is the tax of seven-pence in the pound which government proposes to levy upon income. As might have been expected, it has created an unwonted stir in the metropolis, for it is a subject which comes home to every man’s business and bosom. Nothing short of this, indeed, could succeed in moving the apathy of overgrown London. This touches our merchant and tradesman to the very quick, and sharp is the outcry which it has called forth. We shall offer upon the matter such quiet and dispassionate remarks as occur to us upon this vexed and much-litigated question, and it will be our aim to do so in a spirit as free as possible from party considerations.

The ability with which Sir Robert Peel made his financial statement to the House, its lucid arrangement, its power of argument, its aptitude to put the whole subject within the range of the dullest comprehension, won for him the marked approbation of all political parties. He invested it with a grace, a show of fairness, and even an air of liberality, very likely to blind the eyes of the people to the substantial demerits of his proposals, but which the next visit of the tax-gatherer will most assuredly dispel. It is doubtful, however, whether the country will put up with his plan of taxation in the same acquiescent spirit which they have hitherto displayed towards his sliding scale. This remains to be seen. Meanwhile, there are some considerations which all classes would do well to weigh with care.

We must profess at the outset our preference of direct over indirect taxation. Since the main object of government is the protection of property, it appears but equitable that property should contribute most largely to its expenses. The taxation of the commo-

dities of life falls, for the most part, upon labour and industry—impedes the free working of manufacturing and commercial enterprise, and tends to produce a general indifference to the boundless extravagance of our aristocratic rulers. On all sides men's incomes are crippled and curtailed, they know not how. Indirect taxation eats into the very heart of the poor man's earnings, and leaves the primary causes of his privations unseen and unsuspected. Nothing else could have induced our teeming population to tolerate the undertaking of new and unjust wars, or to allow of the profligate expenditure of public funds for the sole purpose of ministering to the gratification of the upper classes of society. Far better it is that men should know precisely what they pay for the maintenance of government. A wise system of economy would in such case speedily be enforced upon the most reckless of our rulers. Their power, now virtually irresponsible, would be bounded by fixed and definite limits, and the deeds of darkness which, under the present system, have been far too common would cease at once to be even practicable.

Admitting thus much, however, in favour of Sir Robert Peel's proposal, and waiving for the present all discussion of the necessity which exists for increasing the burdens of the country, we contend that direct taxation can only be fairly applied to real property. That which a man has accumulated and invested, that which is fixed and certain, that alone, we deem to be fairly subject to the demands of the state. All other property is, in point of fact, unsubstantial. Its amount is incapable of measurement. Its realisation is uncertain. It is rather matter of conjecture than matter of fact. It is dependent on a thousand unforeseen contingencies. It is rather in process of being than in being itself. Oftentimes it rests upon credit, still oftener upon health and life. Thus variable, intangible, and little more in a multitude of cases than imaginary, its very nature should exempt it from fixed and permanent charges. For, after all, it is usually but representative of real property, and whenever it takes shape, is finally converted into land, or laid up in shares, or invested in houses, or deposited in the public funds. It will thus be seen that all unfixed property is wending its way towards the legitimate region of taxation, and must ultimately arrive at that point, at which, without injustice or the necessity of inquisitorial proceedings, it clearly comes under the cognisance of the state. In as far, therefore, as Sir Robert Peel's plan applies direct taxation to real property, it has in principle our approval. In as far as it affects uncertain income, we think it mischievous, oppressive, and intolerable. Thus much for the principle. The details of the measure seem to us framed with a very careful eye to the favour of the landed interest. Why the income of the occupying tenant is to be taken at only half the amount of his rent, so that a farmer paying no less than 299% to his landlord is to be deemed fairly exempt from the income tax, why to meet present exigencies the tradesman whose capital is floating is to be taxed in the same proportion as the peer who has nothing to do but to receive the proceeds of his estate, can only be explained by the fact that the landowners of Britain are the legislators for Britain, and that the minister whom they raised to power is under a necessity of consulting their interests. This feature of the plan has elicited expressions of surprise from Earl Fitzwilliam, and will certainly do nothing to secure for it a favourable reception from the public. On the whole, we much doubt whether the country can bear this kind of addition to her already enormous burdens. The tax will fall with greatest severity upon just that class of trading commercial men who now stand up with difficulty under the pressure of the times. We augur from it a rapid conversion of the middle classes to the cause of parliamentary reform.

Nothing will drive a conviction of its necessity so promptly and so deeply into their minds as pecuniary exaction. The scales will now drop from many eyes, the half-conservative taste of thousands will be effectually disposed of, the fear of organic change will die away before hatred of the tax gatherer, and those whom the Corn Importation bill failed to convert, the income tax will make reformers in spite of themselves.

JUDICIAL OATHS.

A FEW weeks since we called the attention of our readers to some of the secondary evils of class legislation, amongst which we considered the imposition of oaths as holding a prominent place. Since then, several incidents have occurred calculated to recal the subject to our attention, and nothing but the pressure of other matters of importance has prevented us from giving, as we promised, an exposition of our views of the whole principle. Lord Denman's notice, however, to add to the present patch-work system, by exempting certain persons calling themselves baptists from the obligation of swearing, thrusts the question so prominently into public view that longer silence in regard to it would appear to us unseemly.

An oath is, we apprehend, a means resorted to by the legislature to elicit truth which might otherwise be concealed or perverted. Putting aside for a moment the decisions of Christianity on this point, inasmuch as those decisions are yet matter of controversy, we propose simply to consider the fitness of judicial swearing as a means to an end. They who advocate the continuance of the present practice seem to rely much for its superior efficacy, upon the sanctity of an oath in the estimation of the party whose statements are required. To this reasoning we think the following objections will fairly apply.

A large number of our fellow-countrymen—a number, we are bound to say, which increases every week, have conscientious scruples to take an oath at all. These parties are not grouped in distinct sects, as the efforts of our legislators would seem to imply, but are sprinkled pretty thickly over all the various classes of religionists. These very scruples, exposing them, as they necessarily

do, to much inconvenience, to general ridicule, and sometimes to considerable loss, constitute a sufficient guarantee for their regard to truth. The machinery which our laws have rendered indispensable for eliciting evidence that may be relied upon, is obviously not required in these particular cases; but these are the very parties whose testimony such machinery excludes, and the ill effects resulting from the exclusion are laid bare by the attempts which parliament has made from time to time to substitute their affirmation for an oath. It matters not to the argument whether their views of what religion requires be well or ill-founded. It may be very kind in the judges of our land to offer to take upon themselves the responsibility of the sin committed by persons who swear against the dictates of their conscience; the truth yet remains untouched, that a large portion of our fellow-countrymen, whose evidence might be most implicitly relied on, are precluded by the present system from laying it before the court. Such a defect ought to be compensated by obvious and great advantages.

The efficacy of an oath in compelling the party who takes it to state the truth must depend upon one or the other of the following considerations—either upon his reverence for the Being whom he solemnly calls to attest his veracity; or, upon the fear of that judgment which he expects will be visited upon him for wilful perjury; or, upon his apprehension of calling down upon his head the penalties which human laws have annexed to this crime. Examined by either of these tests the present system turns out to be worthless.

Reverence for the supreme Being is a principle uniform in its operations, equally powerful, whether called into action by an occasion of more or less importance. He, who upon simple affirmation would give utterance to a lie, has already passed the barrier within which this reverence would confine him; beyond it, there exists no check of a similar character to hold him back from the extreme of perjury. Between the limits of untruth and false swearing there exists no ground upon which veneration for God can set its foot. In either case the guilty party stands forth a wilful violator of the divine law, tramples upon the dictates of his own conscience, and has proved himself insensible to the claims which either the one or the other has upon his obedience. The man who dares to lie, will not be held back by any reverence for the Supreme from adding perjury to falsehood. That restriction from sin he has already snapped asunder, and, if prevented from rushing to the extreme crime, he must be prevented by other considerations than those which spring out of his regard to the character of the universal Ruler.

Nor are we inclined to lay more stress upon the supposed fears of the party of divine judgment, either present or to come. Future punishment is not, that we are aware of, denounced with more severity against the perjured than against the liar. But were it so, the man who has made up his mind for the sake of some present advantage to endanger his soul, is not likely to weigh with care the degree of misery into which he may be plunged. More or less, are terms of slight importance to him who can look future judgment in the face. But in truth none do this—all hope to escape, and the forebodings of the perjurer are not more dark than those of the simple liar. As to any present visitation of divine anger few expect it. Multitudes who have sworn falsely have to all appearance lived as securely as their neighbours, and very few, we apprehend, would be restrained from commission of perjury by any fear that judgment would immediately overtake them. Neither, therefore, upon a veneration of the character of the supreme Being, nor upon the fear of future consequences, can we build up any argument for the continuance of the present system of judicial oaths.

We come, then, to the last consideration, viz., the penalties attached by human law to the wilful violation of an oath. But these penalties might with equal ease be inflicted upon those who affirm, as upon those who swear, falsely, and whatever guarantee they provide for the veracity of a witness, or a juror, might be as fully secured after, as before, the abolition of the present system. Were Lord Denman, instead of tinkering the existing laws to meet a partial case, to come forward and propose a large and comprehensive measure of reform in this direction, he would have the mind of the country fairly with him. His object would be worthy at once of his past fame and of his present high position, and instead of provoking a smile of contemptuous ridicule, he would earn, and he would have, the heartfelt thanks of an enlightened public.

The Queen held a court at Buckingham palace on Saturday afternoon at two o'clock, for the reception of addresses to the throne on the birth of the Prince. The Lord Mayor arrived at the palace with the city address at two o'clock, in his state coach, preceded by the city marshals on horseback, and followed by the aldermen, sheriffs, and commons of the city of London, and the officers of the corporation, in carriages. The Bishop of London, accompanied by the Bishop of Llandaff, and a numerous body of the clergy of London and Westminster, arrived at the palace at half-past two o'clock. The Bishop of London read an address from the clergy of the cities of London and Westminster, congratulating her Majesty on the birth of a prince. The Queen gave audiences to Sir Robert Peel, Lord Stanley, and the Lord Chamberlain.

A cabinet council was held on Thursday afternoon at the Foreign office. It was attended by Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Wharnccliffe, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Earl of Haddington, the Earl of Ripon, Lord Fitzgerald, Sir Henry Hardinge, and Sir E. Knatchbull. The council sat two hours.

No fewer than one hundred and seven baronets were created during the ten years of the late government.

On Thursday there was no House. The ministerial members were carefully whipped off. Thirty opposition members were in their places before four o'clock; the other benches were graced by a single tory. A score of others, we are told, were in the lobby. The object of this was to prevent Mr Ward from bringing on his motion respecting the peculiar burthens on land. Sir Robert having rested his case on that fact, naturally does all in his power to prevent its being investigated. It is disgraceful to a government professing so great a zeal for the despatch of urgent business, to put it out of its own power to gain a day for the progress of very urgent measures.—*Chronicle*.

The ministerial journals announce that the government is about to send from eight to ten thousand troops to India immediately, and that a more numerous force may be expected soon to follow.

It is scarcely probable that the Niger expedition, on the reduced scale intimated by the government, will again ascend the river before May or June next. The interim may, perhaps, be beneficially spent in acquiring a more accurate knowledge of the coast around the Bights and Fernando Po, an island daily increasing in interest. The African Civilisation society is, we understand, taking measures for procuring a sufficient supply of negro agency. The vague report which has been circulated of the destruction of the model farm is not believed by Captain Trotter, nor confirmed by the latest letters from Ascension.—*Chronicle*.

The report of the Scientific commission, composed of Professor Airey, Sir John Herschell, Mr Lubbock, and other persons distinguished in science, appointed to inquire into the present standard weights and measures, proposes, among others, three important points: 1st, A system of decimal computation to be adopted in all weights, measures, and monies; 2nd, The total abolition of troy weight and substitution of avoirdupois; and 3rd, Correction of the local standards of the kingdom, which are at present highly imperfect, and the revision of the laws relating to their examination by inspectors, and the preservation of proper model standards.

FOREIGN.

FRANCE.

A private meeting of the members of the Anti-slavery society took place in Paris on Wednesday, at which the Duc de Broglie acted as president, and M. H. Passy as vice-president. The delegates from different countries, who had been invited to Paris, for the public meeting which was to have taken place on the 8th inst., were present, with the addresses of the various anti-slavery associations which they represent. M. H. Passy acknowledged in warm terms the credit due to these societies, and particularly to the English abolitionists, who, by their energy and perseverance had taken the lead in the cause of humanity. Dr Madden, of Dublin, informed the meeting of the regret of Mr O'Connell at not having been able to attend the meeting as he had intended, particularly as he wished to have profited by this opportunity to induce the Archbishop of Paris to give his aid to the cause of emancipation, being convinced, he said, that the influence of the catholic clergy would be of great weight. The Glasgow delegates, Messrs Forster, Fowlick, and Harvey, made several interesting communications, and addresses were read from the anti-slavery societies of Liverpool and Birmingham. One of the addresses was from the venerable Mr Clarkson, and was read to the meeting by the Duc de Broglie. Mr Scobell, in the name of the London society, addressed the meeting at some length. He stated that the results of the abolition of slavery in the English colonies had been highly satisfactory, that the moral condition of the negroes was greatly improved, and that at Demerara alone they had, by economy and industry, been able to purchase 500 lots of land, for which they had paid 24,000*l*. He added, that the planters who treated the blacks with kindness, and took an interest in their welfare, had been great gainers, as their plantations were now cultivated at 20 to 25 per cent. less expense than they were before the abolition. Mr Scobell having addressed the meeting in English, his speech was immediately afterwards given in French by M. H. Passy, with great facility and correctness. M. Passy then stated that the committee for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies had come to a resolution to recommend it to the Chambers; and there was reason to expect that in the next session a bill for this purpose would be presented by the government. Just as the meeting was about to separate, M. Odillon Barrot said a few words relative to the disposition of the clergy, and on the question of abolition generally, in a way to confirm the hope expressed by M. Passy of the speedy abolition of slavery in the French colonies. In the evening the society gave a grand dinner to the foreign delegates, at which M. de Lamartine made a long and brilliant speech. In the course of his speech, M. de Lamartine exhorted the friends of abolition to take courage, and not allow themselves to be deterred from their philanthropic work by the clamours of personal interest, and the calumnies to which all the disciples of Wilberforce had been exposed. If it was revolutionary, said M. de Lamartine, alluding to one of these calumnies, to protest against the crime of slavery, he would declare himself to be a revolutionist, as Fox, Franklin, and Canning had been. The number of persons present at the meeting was 70, of whom about 20 were foreign delegates. Amongst the latter were M. Maden, a Russian, and a brother to a Russian minister of state in the reign of the Emperor Alexander, and M. Frolisch, a Dane. Amongst the members of the French Anti-slavery society present were MM. de Sade, de Tracy, G. Lafayette, and H. St Albin, and several other members of the French Chamber of Deputies.

One of the most violent hurricanes ever witnessed in Paris raged in that city from Wednesday till the hour of post on Thursday. Immense damage has been done by it.

SPAIN.

Private correspondence from Madrid of the 5th inst. states, that the reports of a Carlo-Christino conspiracy had created considerable excitement in that capital, and extraordinary precautions were being taken in consequence by the authorities. The officers of the national guard held a meeting to consider the best mode of resisting any attack which might be made. The national guard of Murcia had resolved that, should any crisis arise, every *moderado* should be put to death, and the installation of a central junta in Andalusia was agitated.

Private correspondence from St Sebastian of the 7th inst. states, that the Spanish authorities continued to enforce the strictest precautionary measures along the frontiers. General Rodil was shortly to transfer his head quarters from Vittoria to Tolosa, and General Alcala from St Sebastian to Irun, that is, on the very extreme frontier. The Christino residents in Bayonne still entertained the most sanguine hopes of succeeding in their meditated attempt. "Failure," they say, "is this time almost impossible—plenty of money, good and true friends, and vengeance to take!"

PORTUGAL.

Lisbon news to the 7th instant was brought by the Montrose steamer. The Queen, having refused to grant decorations to the chiefs of the late chartist movement, had given dissatisfaction to their friends, and had occasioned a report of a dissolution of the cabinet. A council of state had been held to regulate the plan of the ensuing elections. It appears that the government, as now formed, expected the general support of the leading men of the chartist party, but it was believed that intrigues would not be spared against Costa Cabral, against whom the opposition is personal and bitter, and whose influence is shaken by his being unable to reward his Oporto friends.

AMERICA.

The only remarkable proceeding in the house of Representatives had been the refusal of members appointed to the committee on foreign relations to act, in consequence of Mr John Quincy Adams being its chairman. The committee, owing to the resignation of its members, has been temporarily broken up. Mr Cushing asked leave, on the 17th ult., to report, in part, from the select committee on the currency, and present a bill, which was granted, and the same was read twice by its title, referred to the committee of the whole House on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed. The plan of finance reported by Mr Cushing is, in substance, the same which was proposed by the Secretary of the Treasury, but modified so as to remove some of the objections.

The following are extracts from private letters recently received from Cambridge, near Boston, United States:—"We have been watching with intense interest the progress of affairs in England. How wonderful is the power of gold—where it can solder together such an earthquake-shaken pile as your political institutions—it is the strongest of metals: though I doubt not the iron clasp of soldiery does some service. But surely had wealth not been the grand bond of modern society, your kingdom would long since have been utterly rent asunder. Where wealth is all on the side of those who would keep up society as it is, naked, famished, bare-headed wretches, however numerous, will do little. Perhaps to wiser eyes than ours, this slow growth of modern reform is the grand condition of its success. England has a work to do beyond herself, ever scattering the germs of a higher civilisation over the earth; but perhaps in this very vastness of her influence she is preparing her own downfall. The mistletoe already nods on many of her spreading branches, and decay is eating into her trunk. Though who should doubt, who reads the past aright, that even when her present mighty growth shall fall, it will enrich the soil for a nobler future? Meanwhile we Americans have enough to occupy our thoughts at home. In my judgment it is the crisis of this country. All events combine to make this very year an eventful one. It is the judgment day for the south. The haughty rule of the slaveholder is broken, and the north will keep its good nature no longer. The late census has revealed to the whole country the political, social, economical, educational inferiority of the southern states. Even the proud eyes of those poor fellows are at last opened to their own deficiencies, and they are abashed. Yet, accustomed as they are to bully and overbear, they know not how to submit quietly, and are too obstinate to take the only step which can restore them, that is, to emancipate their negroes. Hence a greater violence than they have ever manifested before. They know well it is the death-struggle of their power, and their exertions are convulsive. You may depend upon it that the southern men will strain every nerve to plunge this country into a war with England, on the Creole affair, and the right of search. But heaven grant England may stand firm. The good sense of this country will be with her. Do not misunderstand me. I am an American, and inclined to tolerate no injuries from your nation. England in my judgment has wronged us greatly, as regards the Caroline affair and the eastern boundary, and I would never yield to her a hair's breadth on these questions. But we, on the other hand, are shamefully to blame in this matter of slavery, and sooner a hundred times would I see this union broken, than have us engage in a war for this atrocious slave trade. I believe too that I speak the feeling of the whole north, with the trifling exception of a few merchants. But the era is an important one for us on other accounts. The whig party is utterly broken; it cannot rise again, and the democrats will come in again in triumph. But meanwhile the whole country has read a lesson. No, I must rather say has been learning it. This whirlwind passage of the whigs through unexampled success to total failure in one year, has done something to show the evils of making politics a game. The country has lost some of its confidence in politicians, and political parties or movements. The people are finding out that they must help themselves by individual industry and prudence. The less government, the less legislature, the better for us. If your country and our own would only destroy at once, and together, their restrictive policy, all would be well.

Washington Irving, the celebrated author, has been appointed United States minister to Spain.

INDIA.

The official despatches were received at the Board of Control on Thursday last, from Bombay and Calcutta, and they fully confirm the melancholy intelligence which we published in our last, of the entire destruction of the army in Afghanistan. Indeed from these documents it appears that the accounts which have appeared of the dreadful catastrophe are rather under than overstated. The despatches state that the troops in Jellalabad, when the last accounts were sent off, remained secure, and hopes were entertained that they would be able to maintain their position until such time as reinforcements could be sent to their assistance.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

HURRICANE.—The hurricane of Wednesday night was one of the most severe that has been felt in the metropolis for many years. In the metropolis many houses were unroofed, and the floorcloth manufactory of Mr Moss Lyons, occupying nearly an acre of ground, in King street, Walworth, was blown down. Between three and four o'clock a stack of chimneys was blown down at the house of Mr Atkinson, No. 2, St James's street, Holloway, by which the roof was completely forced in, and a young lady who was staying on a visit, and a female servant, were buried beneath the ruins; and we are sorry to add that that the servant maid lost her life, and the young lady was dreadfully injured, and now lies in a dangerous state. Immense damage has been sustained by coal merchants. At Southend, a schooner with eight hands went down, and four fishermen belonging to that place, who went to render assistance, also met with a watery grave. At Brighton, there was a tremendous storm of wind and rain attended with extensive damage. Much injury has been caused to shipping in the channel. The Sylph of Jersey, and the Economy of Littlehampton, while riding at anchor off the latter port, both went to the bottom, but we are happy to say the respective crews were saved. The Flower of Weymouth, on the night of the gale, was driven from the Isle of Wight to Hastings, where she ran ashore, and, by the brave exertions of the Hastings fishermen, the whole of the crew were saved.

MURDER AND SUICIDE.—On Sunday last a most appalling event took place at the house of George Lucas, 3, Zion Gardens, Aldermanbury—the murder of three children by their father, and his own suicide. It appears that Lucas had been employed for many years as warehouseman in different situations in the City, but, owing to the slackness of trade, had been out of employ for the last six months, which circumstance seemed to prey much on his mind. Early on Sunday morning he went through his usual engagements, and after shaving himself, pretended to put his razor away, but as it afterwards appeared, concealed it. He then asked his wife if he should fetch the children to be dressed, preparatory to going to church, and she requested that he would. He then proceeded to the attic, and, as it appeared, his first victim was his eldest daughter, Ann, seven years old, whom he wrapped up in a shawl, and carried from the further bed room to that in which himself and his wife had slept, and placing her on the front of the bed, cut her throat from ear to ear. He next carried his second son, Alfred, four years old, to the same place, and placing him on the bed, also cut his throat in the same manner. His eldest son, George, ten years of age, was in the act of dressing when his wretched father summoned him to destruction, and he appears to have struggled hard, from the carpet being rolled up in many places, and his cries, which were heard at the next house. Having committed the deed, the wretched father then cut his own throat, and they both fell down together. Lucas appears to have been a steady, respectable man, and apprehension of poverty is the only assignable cause for his committal of the rash deed.

THE PRESIDENT.—We find the following statement, in the *New York American* of the 10th ult. :—"Captain Jepson, of the schooner *Mokina*, from the Cape de Verd Islands, arrived yesterday, reports that the stern-boat of the President and several water-casks bearing her name had been picked up by a vessel and carried into St Nicholas. This information the captain obtained from a respectable English gentleman, who had seen these remains of this ill-fated steamer. The latitude and longitude where they were picked up is not given."

STEAM ON THE ATLANTIC.—The royal mail steam ship *Thames*, under the able command of Captain Hast, R.N., being the first return voyage of the great national line of steamers between this country and the mighty southern territories on the other side of the Atlantic, arrived at Falmouth at about three o'clock on Thursday afternoon.

BUENOS AYREAN MUTTON.—The Cherub, Captain Whitley, arrived at this port from Buenos Ayres, brought sixty hams and shoulders of mutton, of splendid quality, from Buenos Ayres, which are now "rotting" at the Custom house, the prohibition as to importation being positive. The cost in Buenos Ayres was 1½d. per lb., and the freight somewhere about ¼d. per lb. We derive the information as to the arrival, quality, and price of this "forbidden" mutton from a staunch tory: and we believe that Captain Whitley is both able and willing to give further particulars.—*Liverpool Mercury*.

UNEQUAL TAXATION.—The rich man pays no more duty upon his high-flavoured Pekoe or gunpowder tea, at 10s. per lb., than the washerwoman pays for the cheapest Bohea, worth about 1s. 8d. Both pay 2s. 1d. duty. Again, the rich man pays no more duty on the best coffee than the poor woman pays for the worst. It is the same with other articles; hence, as stated by Mr Hindle, out of every shilling spent on such articles, the rich man pays 2½d. to the state, whilst the tax on the poor who spend a shilling on similar articles is 6½d.—*The Struggle*.

LADIES' GALLERY AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—It is but little known that a small enclosure behind the strangers' gallery has been erected, "under the rose," for the accommodation of political ladies desirous of hearing the debates. A space about the breadth of a hand has been opened, through which the ladies peep, totally unobserved. There is not room for more than twelve or thirteen of the fair sex, who are admitted by orders signed by Sir William Gosset, the sergeant-at-arms.

FAMILY QUARRELS.—In the Glasgow police court, last week, a middle-aged man was placed at the bar, charged with striking his wife, who, however, did not appear against him. Court: Did you strike your wife, sir?—Prisoner: No; that is to say, I don't do it often. Court (with increasing severity): Are you then in the habit of striking your wife?—Prisoner: No just in the habit either, but sometimes I do't; but we 'gree well enough for a' that [laughter]. Court: That's Irish friendship—to agree by fighting [loud laughter]. Prisoner: She has an awfu' provoking tongue; and I dinna ken, sir, if you could stand it yoursel' [continued laughter]. Court: Nothing can justify you in striking your wife. Prisoner: 'Deed, sir, I'm just beginning to think that; and now, when she's no come forward against me, and when I remember a' her bits o' ways, o'd, sir, she's no a bad body after a' [roars of laughter]!—*Glasgow Reformers' Gazette*.

LITERATURE.

Ancient Christianity. No. VII. The Miracles of the Nicene Church in attestation of its Demonolatry. With a Supplement. London: Jackson and Walford.

"The dawn is overcast, the morning lowers,
And heavily in clouds brings on the day—
The important day—big with the fate
Of Oxford and of Rome."

It is true, indeed, that the Oxford tractarians disavow all connexion with the church of Rome, and that they affect indignation when they are accused of anything like a filial approximation to the Mother of Harlots. But there are two distinct kinds of proof which may relieve those from the charge of uncharitableness who maintain, not only their approximation to Romanism, but their identity with some of its most distinguishing and offensive characteristics. The first is the opinions which Romanists themselves entertain on the subject.

The church of Rome, notwithstanding its intimate acquaintance with its own principles and polity, and notwithstanding its inflexible purpose not to compromise either, is now recognising Oxford professors as good and able auxiliaries, and names them individually, and greets them kindly, as men so right in feeling, and so near to "catholic truth," as that their residue of heretical pravity, whatever it may be, ought hardly to be thought of. This being the case, who can wonder that candid and intelligent men, regarding the immediate organs of the papal court as the best judges of what touches so nearly the honour and expected advancement of the church, should look upon these their favourites as their real, though not yet fully accredited allies?

The other proof is derived from the substantial agreement of the Nicene church, the model of the tractarians, with the system which Gregory the Great inherited from the fathers of that church, and which exhibited every principle and almost every usage characteristic of modern Romanism.

Is the celibate, embracing the priesthood, and an immense number of saints of both sexes—anchorites, recluses, and virgins, an institution of the Romish church? So was it, and to a much greater extent, an institution of the church of the third and fourth centuries. And if we trace the connexion of the ancient celibate with the Nicene theology, and compare it with the theology of Rome, we shall find them nearly identical. The doctrines of the Romish church, as affected by the celibate, are directly contrary to the fundamental principles of the New Testament; and the same may be affirmed of the doctrines of the Nicene church, perverted by the same influence. Sacrificing priests, altars, sacrifices, and temples, are among the corruptions of Rome; but they were equally the corruptions of Constantinople—encouraged and increased, if not produced, by the preaching and writings of Chrysostom. In the eucharistic liturgy, attributed to this father, in the administration of the Lord's supper there is every thing of transubstantiation but the name. The deacon, addressing the priest, says, "Slay, sir!" Then the priest *immolates* the holy cake, saying, "The Lamb of God is slain who taketh away the sin of the world." Then the deacon says, "Prick, sir;" and the priest pierces the cake, on the right side, with the holy lance; at the same moment the deacon pours wine and water into the chalice. Then the priest, taking the second oblation, says, "In honour and remembrance of 'our most blessed and glorious lady, Theotokos, and ever Virgin Mary, through whose intercessions accept, O Lord, this sacrifice upon thy celestial altar.'" Then follow prayers or invocations to saints, with another special reference to the intercessions of "the most holy, undefiled, and over-all-blessed and glorious Mary, our lady Theotokos, and always virgin, by the might of the honourable and life-giving cross, and of all the saints, have mercy upon us our good and benevolent God." But enough of this impious mummary. But this, and a great deal more of the same kind, not excepting auricular confession, penance, and purgatory, the professors of Oxford and the multitude of boy priests in their train, are anxious to restore, and to foster within the bosom of England's holy and apostolic church, excluding, at the same time, the authority of the Roman pontiff, and therefore all direct connexion with the papal hierarchy. This we are justified in regarding as a mere matter of policy. Without a pope, they vainly hope to establish a clergy that shall rival Rome, and bring within the Anglican pale her sons and daughters that are subjects of the British empire.

But Rome has her policy too. Masked by the Anglican movement, she is assiduously working, and working the more effectually, because she is thus concealed from public observation. The bastard protestantism of the church of England, which is compelled to use arguments against the church of Rome, which it dare not and cannot employ against dissenters, without being crushed by weapons of stouter metal than its own, is also just now, by the violence of its reformation oracles and orators, aiding the papacy to regain its spiritual domination in the British islands. The exaggerated statements made by these mere political partisans at public meetings, we are assured are regarded by Romanist emissaries with "an exultation which they find it difficult to suppress."

The tractarians, whatever they may think, are playing a dangerous game. Their "church principles" are too congenial with the nature of the hierarchy in which they have sprung up with such rank luxuriance to be eradicated, or to be easily kept under. They are towering to the highest places, and are spreading through the length and the breadth of the land. An omen of more frightful portent could never hang over an institution human in its origin, and depending for its stability on civil patronage and power. Dreading the political tendencies of the times, and the rivalries of other re-

ligious bodies, the church of England felt that one of two things was absolutely necessary to secure her permanence as an ecclesiastical and state monopoly. She must either consent to be thoroughly reformed—to be rendered less despotic in constitution, less secular in spirit, and less intolerant in administration—to be treated by the legislature as a human establishment, to keep pace with the improvements of the age, and to meet the moral and spiritual demands of a people rising up under a new order of things; or she must assume to herself a divine constitution—for every one of her priests, personal apostolic succession—for her sacraments, administered by her priesthood, a miraculous efficacy; in one word, she must plume herself with all the assumptions of Rome, and maintain her authority as supreme—demanding implicit faith from the people, and unqualified homage, as well as munificent support, from the state: this latter alternative she preferred. The Nicene church, as we have said, she has adopted as her model; and, to do her justice, she is following it with an exactness which will render her at once the pattern and the admiration of Rome. We have assumed that Puseyism is church of Englandism, and we have a perfect right to do so while the church of England, as a church, sanctions popery in her articles and catechism, and allows undisguised papists to officiate in her pulpits and at her altars. We doubt not that the present state of ecclesiastical affairs in the three principal divisions of the empire, England, Ireland, and Scotland, is working to some grand result, perhaps to “the mutual independence of the state and the church, which should be the reformation of the nineteenth century.” A great crisis is at hand. The time has arrived when all are agreed that changes are necessary; upon this point there is perfect unanimity. But only disastrous influences seem to be active. Society will be stirred to its foundations, and the elements separated, perhaps by convulsive violence, which ought never to have been commingled, and the union of which has been equally injurious to civil government and spiritual religion; which has subverted thrones and desecrated altars; and which has produced more crimes and miseries than all the other evils which have sprung up from the bottomless pit, and borne the image and superscription of the prince of darkness. We shall take occasion to tell Mr Taylor what we think of his work when it is completed. The present number is far superior to the earlier ones.

Hope's British Monthly Magazine and Historical Record. February, 1842.

THIS “British Monthly Magazine” is, in fact, an organ of the non-intrusion party in the Scottish kirk. It is not written in the gentlest spirit, but is arrogant and fierce. As the advocate of a state church, it deals much too severely with its episcopal sister of England; while it sets up a most unwarrantable claim of independence for the kirk of Scotland. Nor is it quite consistent with its own avowed principles.

We, of course, have no objection to the articles on “Sewell's Christian Morals;” “The Popish Nature of the Common Prayer Book;” and “The Antiscriptural Character of our Lord Bishops.” The writers of these strictures are fair exponents of the views entertained by nonconformists on all these subjects; and we imagine that the genuine presbyterians agree with us all. But after holding up the church of England as the stronghold of popery, and denouncing her liturgy and formularies as destructive to the souls of men, and her bishops for assuming lordly power in the churches of Christ, and at the same time knowing that, in whatever British colonies the church of England plants herself, she is as a upas tree to all other churches and sects that have preceded her, and by their missionaries prepared the way for her usurpation, with what consistency could the “British Magazine” insert the following sentences in its pages:—

“We have reason to believe that, among other beneficial arrangements, the church in the West Indies is about to be placed on a far more efficient footing. Instead of two bishops there will certainly be four, and in the end perhaps six, in that part of the world. The bishopric of Barbadoes, which is now vacant by the resignation of Dr Coleridge, is about to be divided into three, each of which will receive an endowment of £2000 a year. To meet this, the bishop's revenues, at present £4000 a year, will be distributed, and the three archdeacons, each of which is now worth £1,500 a year, reduced to £600. So also it is stated, that at the Cape of Good Hope and in New Brunswick, sees will immediately be established; and that the same excellent arrangements will be entered into throughout the colonies in general. This is indeed to act as becomes a Christian government.”—p. 159.

With the non-intrusion question we, as dissenters, have not troubled ourselves. We leave the potsherds of the earth to strive with the potsherds of the earth. The state may do what she will with her own church, and a state church may do anything but declare herself independent of her creator and lord. The kirk of Scotland is as much the creature of the state as the church of England. What are her ecclesiastical laws? why, the very laws of the state. As stated by Mr Sheriff Barclay on a recent occasion—“The confession of faith itself is embodied in an act of parliament.” Yet for maintaining this, the dissenters on both sides of the Tweed are abused in the pages of this new candidate for public support, this magazine of Hope; which must change its tactics, or it will soon be the magazine of despair. We shall only quote one sentence; it will show the *animus* of the writer—“It is a curious circumstance, and exhibits the inconsistency which exists in our frail natures, to find the dissenters from a church establishment, on the plea that the state prevents having sufficient spiritual liberty, and more particularly at the time of their dissent prevented them choosing their own clergy, that these very men, dissenters on this point from the church, are striving with the whole might of their little insignificance to thwart the views of the reforming party in the church of Scotland.”

Notwithstanding the sneers of this very tolerant reformer at “the little insignificance” of the dissenters, it is to their voluntary abandonment of a state church, where they could not, consistently with the nature of such a church, either enjoy spiritual liberty or choose their own clergy, that they owe a moral greatness which their calumniators are sunk too low in worldliness to understand or appreciate. What the non-intrusionists demand cannot be granted without a violation of the first principles of common justice. What is the nature of this demand? Why, the non-intrusionist claims the right of taking the support of his religion from the public funds, but refuses to be under the control of those who pay him. This is not the predicament in which honourable men would choose to place them; much less, at the same time, to abuse others who prefer dissent to disobedience.

These Times: a Tract for the Young; showing the Claims which Religious Truth has upon their Attention and Zeal. By JOHN JEFFERSON. London: Snow.

Mr Jefferson does not visit us as a stranger. We are familiar with his former publications, and can candidly recommend the present to those whose benefit it is especially intended to promote. It is peculiarly seasonable. Mr Jefferson, with all thoughtful men, is expecting a crisis; and, as an enlight-

ened Christian pastor, he would prepare the youthful portion of his charge for the important part they may have to enact in the great drama, the close of which will usher in the triumph and the reign of heavenly truth. In this tract for the young, Mr Jefferson tells them, “The reformation itself is to be reformed in your day, its genuine principles carried out, and its legitimate results secured; or it has to be pronounced a grand mistake, and to fall together before the reviving energy of the man of sin.” The rights of civil rulers to interfere with the religious sentiments and practices of their subjects are undergoing such a scrutiny as cannot fail to lead to a permanent decision; whilst it is now to be seen, whether the calm repose which, even amidst these convulsions, distinguishes the churches based on purely spiritual principles, their steady advance in numbers and piety, and their persevering efforts to spread the knowledge of Christ throughout the world, do furnish a proof of their divine foundation or not.

The Rebel Provost; or, the Two Citizens. By ARGUS. Glasgow.

A RIGHT good story for the times. We want a million such rebels as Andrew Meikle. We give a sample of his political creed; and he is the rebel who hesitates to adopt it as his own:

“That every life lost in any conflict that occurs in consequence of a refusal to submit to tyranny, or the enforcing payment of unjust taxes, is murder; and we believe will be judged accordingly by Him whose justice suffers no blemish.

“We also believe that every community is at liberty to refuse payment of taxes, when that community has no voice in the application of those taxes, either indirectly by representation, or directly by a voice in their distribution.”

We shall be glad to see the works of Argus which are preparing for the press.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

1. *What to Teach and How to Teach it.* Part 1.
2. *Sir Robert Peel's "Burdens on Land."* Anti-corn-law Tract. No. 2.
3. *Financial Reform.* By R. W. RUSSELL.
4. *White Slavery; a Lecture,* by Mr R. K. PHILP.
5. *Moral Agency.* By W. M'COMBIE. London: Seeley.
6. *Four Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Jesus Christ.* By J. P. SMITH, D.D., F.R.S.
7. *Hints, Illustrative of the Duty of Dissent.* By T. BINNEY.
8. *Manual of Congregational Principles.* By Dr G. PAYNE.
9. *Sermon on the Baptism of the Prince.* By J. ALEXANDER.
10. *Missions; their Authority, Scope, and Encouragement.* By the Rev. R. W. HAMILTON.
11. *The Promethean.* January and February.
12. *Union! the Patriot's Watchword.* By Rev. H. EDWARDS.
13. *Marriage; a Poem.* By Rev. H. EDWARDS.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

The completion of the second century since the settlement of congregational Christians in Norwich, has induced the members of the church, which traces its existence to that distant event, to celebrate the divine goodness to them and their ancestors, in a series of religious services. On Lord's day, February 27, their pastor, the Rev. A. Reed, delivered two centenary discourses; that in the morning embraced a survey of the civil and religious position of the exiles who, after some years' residence in Rotterdam, where they found shelter from religious persecution, returned in the year 1642 to their native city, and became the members of the Norwich church; in the evening, the preacher sought to remind the church of several practical lessons, derivable from the above historic sketch. Probably these discourses will soon appear in print. On Monday evening, a special prayer meeting was held; and on Tuesday morning, the first stone of a new Sabbath school was laid by the Rev. A. Reed. It is to cost about £700, the greater part of which sum is already raised. The structure will be large, commodious, and contiguous to the meeting. The morning proving rainy, the ceremony was hastily performed, and the assembly adjourned to the meeting, when the Rev. A. Reed addressed the adult audience, and the Rev. J. Curwen of Stowmarket, the children. The pastor and his friends then proceeded to plant several trees in the burial ground, as memorials of the centenary. In the evening a large and attentive congregation were addressed in the meeting house by the Rev. J. Alexander of Norwich, Rev. J. Curwen of Stowmarket, and Rev. W. Brock of Norwich. On Wednesday evening, the members of the church met to tea in the Assembly rooms, when Mr Reed and the deacons of the church delivered addresses of much seriousness and power; letters were read and adopted, addressed to the church at Yarmouth—to the church at Rotterdam, where the Norwich expatriots found refuge—to the Norfolk association, and to the Congregational union. Apart from these services, in consequence of Mr Curwen's visit to the city, a densely crowded meeting was held in Princes street meeting on Thursday evening, March 3, when Mr C. addressed the friends, teachers, and children of Sunday schools on the best method of communicating instruction to the young.

An Auxiliary London Mission society for the borough of Marylebone, was formed on Thursday last, to act in connexion with the London City Mission.

The Rev. A. Burdett, of Long Buckby, is delivering a course of Sabbath evening lectures, in the baptist chapel, on the subject of church establishments, and the duties of dissenters.

On account of the present agitated state of religious opinion, the independent and baptist churches of Derby have come to the decision of publicly explaining and accounting for their principles as protestant dissenters. A series of monthly meetings has been commenced; at these meetings two addresses are given, one of which has a reference to their principles as protestant dissenters.

The Rev. Daniel Parkins, of Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire, has accepted a unanimous invitation to the pastorate of the baptist church at Folkstone, and is expected to enter on his duties on the first Sabbath in April.

On Tuesday, Feb. 22, the Rev. Stephen Lepine, late of Cheshunt college, was ordained a minister in the Countess of Huntingdon's connexion, in Wote street chapel, Basingstoke. The Rev. J. Young of Brimpton opened the service by reading and prayer; the Rev. W. Hodson of Zion chapel, London, delivered the introductory discourse; the Rev. J. K. Foster, late resident tutor of Cheshunt college, proposed the usual questions; the Rev. J. Wills of Basingstoke offered the ordination prayer; the Rev. S. A. Davies of Enfield (Mr Lepine's former pastor) gave the charge; and the Rev. W. Slater of Odiham concluded the morning service with prayer. In the evening, the Rev. J. K. Foster preached to the people. The services throughout were well attended, and deeply interesting.

The public recognition of the Rev. William Spencer as the pastor of the church and congregation assembling in Princes street chapel, Plymouth, took place on Tuesday, March 1. The Rev. T. Horton read the scriptures and offered prayer. A statement of the scriptural constitution of the congregational churches was presented by the Rev. J. Pyer. The questions were put by the Rev. T. C. Hine. The recognition prayer was presented by the Rev. W. Rooker, of Tavistock. A charge, founded on Romans i. 9, was delivered by the Rev. W. Moore, of Truro; and the Rev. S. Nicholson closed with prayer. In the evening a sermon from Philippians ii. 14-16, was addressed to the church and congregation by the Rev. George Smith.

Several learned Chinese have just become converts to the gospel. One a distinguished poet; another one of the first literary men in the empire.—*Canton Register*.

BIRTHS.

March 9, the wife of Mr G. E. NEWTH, surgeon, 33, Great Suffolk street, Southwark, of a son.

March 1, at Milton Abbey, Northamptonshire, the Viscountess MILTON, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

March 8, at Penzance, the Rev. T. C. FINCH, baptist minister of Clarence street chapel in that town, to JANE, youngest daughter of Mr J. HAMILTON, builder.

DEATHS.

March 9, aged 29, MARTHA, the wife of the Rev. G. J. PILGRIM, Swindon, Wilts. March 8, in the 39th year of his ministry, and the 62nd year of his age, the Rev. S. SEWELL, Wesleyan minister, Bradford, Wilts.

March 7, aged 67, FANNY, wife of Mr Alderman HARRIS, of the Crescent, Leicester. Feb. 28, at Springside, near Manchester, Mr WILLIAM GRANT, of the well-known firm of W. Grant and Brothers, Manchester.

March 8, at Schwerin, His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of MECKLENBURG SCHWERIN, in his 42nd year.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, March 11.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 Wm. IV., cap. 85:—Dovaston chapel, Dovaston, Shropshire. N. Minshull, superintendent registrar.

INSOLVENTS.

DARLINGTON, WILLIAM, Liverpool, wine merchant, March 11. SEABROOK, JOHN, Abercorn Arms, Stanmore, Middlesex, licensed victualer, Mar. 10.

BANKRUPTS.

BIRCH, EMILY ANN, 19, Bedford place, Russell square, lodging-house keeper, to surrender March 18, April 22: solicitor, Mr Lloyd, 61, Cheapside.

BURY, WILLIAM, Blackburn, Lancashire, corn dealer, March 21, April 22: solicitors, Messrs Cuvelje and Co., 19, Southampton buildings, Chancery lane, London, and Messrs Lodge and Harries, Preston.

CLARKE, JOHN PERRY, and LEWIS, OSMUND, Crown court, Threadneedle street, newspaper agents, March 18, April 22: solicitor, Mr Clarke, 13, George street, Mansion house.

COUNTY, JAMES, County retreat, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, oil and colour man, March 29, April 22: solicitors, Messrs Miller and Carr, 47, Eastcheap, London.

EMERY, JOSEPH, Wells, Somersetshire, surgeon, April 6, 22: solicitor, Mr C. Jay, Serjeant's inn, Fleet street, London.

HART, PHILIP WOODROW, Norwich, coach manufacturer, March 17, April 22: solicitors, Messrs Clarke and Medcalfe, 20, Lincoln's inn fields, London, and Messrs Beckwith and Co., Norwich.

HORNCastle, JOSEPH, Glamford Briggs, Lincolnshire, seed merchant, March 21, April 22: solicitors, Messrs Nicholson and Hett, Brigg, and Messrs Dyneley and Co., 4, Bedford row, London.

JACKSON, SAMUEL and THOMAS FREDERICK, Bermondsey street, Surrey, woolstaplers, March 22, April 22: solicitor, Mr Watts, 231, Bermondsey street, Surrey.

PRATT, FREDERICK, Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, miller, March 21, April 22: solicitors, Mr J. A. Stevenson, Stoke-upon-Trent, and Mr C. B. Wilson, Furnival's inn, London.

ROBINSON, WILLIAM, Hulme, Lancashire, glass manufacturer and common brewer, March 22, April 22: solicitors, Messrs Milne and Co., Temple, London, and Messrs Slater and Heelis, and Messrs Bagshaw and Stevenson, Manchester.

STANWAY, GEORGE, Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, grocer, March 24, April 22: solicitors, Mr Smith, 48, Chancery lane, London, and Mr H. Harding, Stoke-upon-Trent.

WEBSTER, EDWARD SHIRLEY, Birmingham, draper, March 31, April 22: solicitors, Messrs Reed and Shaw, 2, Friday street, Cheapside, London.

WIGNEY, ISAAC NEWTON and CLEMENT, Brighton, Sussex, bankers, March 28, April 22: solicitors, Messrs Palmer and Co., 24, Bedford row, London.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BLACK, JOHN, Glasgow, manufacturer, March 17, April 7. DICK, JAMES, Glasgow, mason, March 17, April 7.

GILKISON, ALEXANDER GRANT, and BROWN, HUGH, Glasgow, merchants, March 16, April 13.

HILL, GEORGE, Edinburgh, wine merchant, March 18, April 13. M'ALPINE, WILLIAM, and ROBERTSON, DAVID, Glasgow, merchants, Mar. 18, April 8.

DIVIDENDS.

April 2, Pilbeam, Parker street, Drury lane, smith—April 2, Munn, Solesbridge, Hertfordshire, paper manufacturer—April 1, Mitchell, Lime street, City, merchant—April 1, Rackett, Bell yard, Carey street, locksmith—April 1, Smith, Oxford street, linen draper—April 4, Duncan, 88, Oxford terrace, Hyde park, boarding-house keeper—April 4, Hemming, 45, Chiswell street, Finsbury, elastic surgical instrument maker—April 1, Benassit, 46, Lime street, City, wine merchant—April 4, Lawrie and Lock, Wood street, City, importers of foreign goods—March 24, Marris and Nicholson, Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire, bankers—April 4, Harriet, Ormskirk, Lancashire, beer brewer—April 4, Stephenson and Moss, Nottingham, masons—April 4, Peasnell, Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, plumber—April 25, Barlow, Manchester, shoe dealer—April 11, Borton, Kirbymisperton, Yorkshire, banker—April 2, Heron, Manchester and Wigan, Lancashire, cotton spinner—April 11, M'Lachlan, Liverpool, licensed victualer.

CERTIFICATES—APRIL 1.

J. and G. Laing, 16, Eastcheap, City, cork manufacturers—Beeston, Manchester, coach builder—Griffin, Dudley, Worcestershire, upholsterer—Bush, Hunslet, Leeds, machine maker—Petch, Atherstone, Warwickshire, wine merchant—Berrill, Liverpool, merchant—Goode, Birmingham, wholesale draper—Spoor and Son, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, builders—Jackson, Mountsorrell, Leicestershire, money scrivener.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Howden and Ainsley, 102, Leadenhall street, City, ship and general commission agents—Williams and Paine, 18, Tichborne street, Regent circus, Piccadilly, woollen drapers—Dunsford and Turner, London, merchants—Cook and Co., 4, Bread street, Cheapside, silk warehousemen—Prichard and Harvey, Bristol, wine merchants—Askew and Stansfeld, Manchester, cotton yarn doublers—H. and N. Briant, Reading, Berkshire, architects—Glover and Co., Manchester, floor cloth manufacturers—Soffe and Winckworth, 380, Strand, printsellers—Engelback and Head, Thrawl street, Spitalfields, glass benders—Andrews and Bowen, Bridgnorth, Shropshire, mercers—Pickersgill and Co., Darlington and Leeds, carriers (so far as regards R. Pickersgill, jun.)—J. and W. Jones, Red Lion street, Clerkenwell, working jewelers—Insoll and Lenny, Lewes, Sussex, coach makers—Bailey and Co., Monmouth, Abergavenny, and Pontypool, bankers (so far as regards Morgan).

Tuesday, March 15.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act 6 and 7 Wm. IV., cap. 85:—

St Stephen's church, Rochdale, Lancashire. William Roberts, superintendent registrar.

St Mary's church, St Woollos, Monmouthshire. Henry Spratt, superintendent registrar.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

HETHERINGTON, JOHN, King's Arms yard, City, wholesale tea merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

ALEXANDER, JOHN, Pendleton, Lancashire, common brewer, March 29, April 26: solicitors, Messrs Milne and Co., Harcourt buildings, Temple, London, and Messrs Slater and Heelis, Manchester.

BEDFORD, JOHN DAVINSON, Burton-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, brewer, March 30,

April 26: solicitors, Mr Richardson, Burton-upon-Trent, and Messrs Hicks and Braikenridge, Bartlett's buildings, Holborn, London.

BOULD, FREDERICK, Ovendon, Yorkshire, cotton spinner, March 29, April 26: solicitors, Messrs Emmet and Allen, 14, Bloomsbury square, London, and Messrs L. and E. N. Alexander, Halifax, and Messrs Stocks and Macaulay, Halifax.

COZENS, THOMAS FINCH, Canterbury, builder, March 24, April 26: solicitors, Mr S. Plummer, or Messrs R. and G. Furley, Canterbury, and Messrs Butterfield and France, 5, Gray's-inn-square.

FRANKLAND, JOHN, and FRANKLAND, THOMAS, Liverpool, merchants, March 29, April 26: solicitors, Messrs Makinson and Sanders, 3, Elm court, Middle Temple, London, and Messrs Atkinson and Saunders, Manchester.

JONES, JOHN, Liverpool, cordwainer and victualer, March 24, April 26: solicitors, Mr Daniel Cornthwaite, Dean's court, Doctor's commons, London, and Mr. John Cornthwaite, Bristol.

LLOYD, WILLIAM, Liverpool, wine merchant, March 29, April 26: solicitors, Messrs Lowe and Co., Southampton buildings, Chancery lane, London.

MORRIS, THOMAS, Newbridge, Glamorganshire, grocer, March 26, April 26: solicitors, Messrs White and Eyre, 11, Bedford row, London, and Mr Francis Short, Bristol.

PAGE, CHARLES, 68, High street, and 5, Nottingham mews, Marylebone, coach tyre smith, March 18, April 26: solicitor, Mr W. G. Kell, 46, Bedford row.

PAGE, JOSEPH, jun., Gloucester, carrier, March 28, April 26: solicitors, Messrs Jones and Blaxland, 7, Crosby square, London, and Mr C. Smallridge, Gloucester.

PARRERY, JOHN, Northampton, saddler, March 21, April 26: solicitors, Mr T. Cave Hall, Northampton, and Mr George Weller, 8, King's road, Bedford row, London.

PEAKE, STEPHEN, Ramsgate, Kent, builder, March 24, April 26: solicitor, Mr Sidney Smith, 9, Barnard's inn, London.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

GIBBONS, ROBERT, Edinburgh, baker, March 17, April 7. HAMILTON, CHARLES, late of Fairholme, sometime residing in or near Edinburgh, March 18, April 8.

HOUSTON, PETER, and POTTER, ROBERT, Glasgow, builders, March 22, April 12. HUTCHISON, JOHN, Edinburgh, fletcher, March 21, April 18.

MACPHERSON, WILLIAM, and M'NAUGHTON, JAMES, Denny, Stirlingshire, distillers, March 22, April 12. RAMSAY, THOMAS, Glasgow, merchant, March 21, April 11.

SCOTT, ARCHIBALD, Southfield, Haddingtonshire, farmer, March 21, April 11. WRIGHT, JOHN, Glasgow, confectioner, March 19, April 9.

DIVIDENDS.

April 5, Wheeler, 9 and 10, Princess street, Hanoversquare, tailor and lodging house keeper—April 7, Buckle, of the Terrace, Kensington, tea dealer—April 8, Brown, 33, Bell yard, Lincoln's inn, plumber—April 7, Lock, late of Three Crown court, Jewry street, Aldgate, and formerly of Arundel street, Strand, and afterwards of Blackheath, Kent, wine merchant—April 6, Coulsell, Richmond, Surrey, builder—April 6, Cassell, Mill wall, Poplar, naptha seller—April 5, Jones, Birmingham, leather seller—April 13, Butler, Walsall, Staffordshire, saddlers' ironmonger—April 13, Wiggerham and Saunders, Birmingham, ale and porter merchants—April 14, E. and J. Raine, Barnard Castle, Durham, carpet manufacturers—April 7, Peart, late of Newark-upon-Trent, Nottinghamshire, rope maker and flax dresser—April 6, Jacques, Standard hill, Nottingham, hosier—April 7, Knight, Southampton, cabinet maker—April 16, Perks, jun., Stourbridge, Worcestershire, hatter—April 28, Caulier, Bath, Somersetshire, nurseryman and seedsman—April 5, Law, Manchester, chemist—April 6, Fraley and Merchant, Bristol, linen drapers.

CERTIFICATES—APRIL 6.

Macaire, Liverpool, merchant—Worrell, Sussex street, Tottenham court road, victualer—Wilson, Blyth Tile Sheds, Northumberland, manufacturer of bricks and argillaceous marble—Wilcocks, Bracknell, Berkshire, saddler and harness maker—Ellick, Milton-next-Sittingbourne, Kent, grocer—Palmer, Duke street, St James's, late of the Quadrant, Regent street, tailor—Harriot, Ormskirk, Lancashire, beer brewer—Bowley, Commercial Sale rooms, Mincing lane, City, and of Doddington grove, Newington, Surrey, broker—J. and J. W. Lidsay, North Shields, Northumberland, grocers and wine and spirit merchants.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Ormond and Nelves, Cheltenham, chemists—Purnell and Bolshaw, Liverpool, coal merchants—Cooper and Evans, Bishop's Stortford, Hertfordshire, gas fitters—Fowler and Newbery, Axminster, Devonshire, mercers—J. and R. Tully, Paington, Devonshire, cider merchants—Nicholson and Simpson, Glasson Dock, Lancashire, sail makers—Hathornthwaite and Edmondson, Preston, Lancashire, chemists—Wood and Fisher, Church street, and High street, Lambeth, engineers—Cooze and Penley, 20, Frith street, Soho square, house decorators—Pritchard and Co., Chester, linen drapers (so far as regards J. Pritchard, sen.)—R. and G. Peverell, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, grocers—Little and Co., 15, Bishopsgate street, City, merchants—Face, Hartlepool, and Denison, Sunderland, ship brokers—R. H. and T. Glenny, Little Ilford, Essex—Fife and Brumell, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, surgeons—Rhodes and Robinson, Manchester, tailors—Beard and Parke, Vere street, Oxford street, dealers in Berlin and fancy worsteds—Willoughby and Underwood, 10, Warwick street, Belgrave road, Pimlico, tailors—Drewry and Co., Wisbeach, Cambridgeshire, hatters—Storer and Co., 146, Whitechapel, and 113, Edgeware road, Paddington, boot manufacturers—Manning and Co., St Andrew's terrace, Waterloo road, Southwark, rectifiers (so far as regards J. A. Manning)—S. and C. Payne, New Sarum, Wiltshire, dealers in china—Nalder and Co., 41, Cheap-side, City, glove manufacturers—Leonhardt, and Co., Roan street, Greenwich, comb manufacturers (so far as regards J. Leidinger).

BRITISH FUNDS.

The scheme of the government appears to have given satisfaction both to the whigs and Tories on the Stock exchange, with the exception of the income tax. A graduated tax on the income derived from fixed capital, seems to have been the plan most generally anticipated. The funds rose $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on Saturday, as the jobbers look upon the government proceedings as likely to maintain public credit, and to relieve the financial deficiencies without new loans. This advance is still supported, but business is not very brisk.

	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	89 $\frac{1}{2}$	89	89 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto for Account	89 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 $\frac{1}{2}$
3 per cents. Reduced	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cents. Reduced	—	—	—	—	—	—
New 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	98 $\frac{1}{2}$	98 $\frac{1}{2}$	98 $\frac{1}{2}$	99	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$
Long Annuities	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—
Bank Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
India Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer Bills	30 pm	32 pm	30 pm	30 pm	30 pm	30 pm
India Bonds, 3 per cent.	10 pm	10 pm	8 pm	10 pm	10 pm	10 pm

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	—	Mexican	39 $\frac{1}{2}$
Belgian	103 $\frac{1}{2}$	Peruvian	16
Brazilian	67	Portuguese 5 per cents	59
Buenos Ayres	22	Ditto 3 per cents	20
Columbian	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	Russian	116
Danish	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	Spanish Active	24 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dutch 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cents	52	Ditto Passive	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto 5 per cents	102 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ditto Deferred	12 $\frac{1}{2}$

SHARES.

Railways—		London and Brighton	36 $\frac{1}{2}$
Birmingham and Derby	58	London and Croydon Trunk ..	12
Birmingham and Gloucester ..	57	London and Greenwich	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Blackwall	12	Ditto New	18
Bristol and Exeter	38	Manchester and Birmingham ..	28 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cheltenham and Gt. Western	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	Manchester and Leeds	77
Eastern Counties	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	Midland Counties	80
Edinburgh and Glasgow	—	Ditto Quarter Shares	26
Great North of England	—	North Midland	70
Great Western	90	Ditto New	34
Ditto New	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	South Eastern and Dover	26
Ditto Fifts	10	South Western	58 $\frac{1}{2}$
London and Birmingham	174 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ditto New	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto Quarter Shares	30		

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, March 14.

We had a fair supply of wheat last week, but a very small addition by land carriage samples for this morning's market. The condition of the latter, generally, being very

inferior, millers were very cautious in their purchases; the best conditioned parcels sold at about the prices of this day se'nnight, but all others were saleable only at a decline of 1s. to 2s. per qr. For foreign wheat we had a moderate retail sale at a decline of about 1s. per qr.

The flour trade continues heavy; ship parcels declined 1s. per sack, but there is no change in the value of town made.

A large arrival of barley presses again heavily on the market, and a decline of 1s. per qr must be noted for all descriptions, and the inferior qualities scarcely saleable.

The supplies of beans and peas are not large, but more than equal to the demand, and prices are rather lower.

We had a good supply of oats, chiefly English; the trade continues heavy at about the rates of last week for good feed corn.

Wheat, Red New	50 to 53	Beans, Old	30 to 34
Fine	56 to 60	Harrow	28 to 36
White	50 to 61	Oats, Feed	18 to 21
Fine	62 to 68	Fine	22 to 24
Rye	32 to 36	Poland	22 to 24
Barley	22 to 24	Potato	22 to 24
Malting	30 to 32		

Wheat	60s. 9d.	Wheat	60s. 5d.	Wheat	26s. 8d.
Barley	28 3	Barley	28 4	Barley	19 10
Oats	19 1	Oats	19 10	Oats	18 3
Rye	34 3	Rye	35 5	Rye	16 9
Beans	32 0	Beans	32 7	Beans	21 3
Peas	32 6	Peas	33 7	Peas	19 9

SEEDS.

The trade in cloverseed has received a check by the unexpected announcement of an intended reduction of 10s. per qr in the duty. Scarcely any business done to-day.

Linseed, English, sowing	54s. to 59s. per qr	Coriander	10s. to 16s. pr cwt.
Baltic, ditto	—	Old	16 to 18
Ditto, crushing	48 to 54	Canary, new	75 to 85
Mediterranean and Odessa	50 to 54	Old	—
Clover, English, red	65 to 85 per cwt.	Extra	90 to 95
Ditto, white	—	Caraway, old	50 to 52
Flemish, red	65 to 85	New	48 to 49
Ditto, white	—	Mustard, brown, new	10 to 14 pr bush.
New Hamburg, red	60 to 80	White	9 to 13
Ditto, white	—	Trefoil	16 to 28
Old Hamburg, red	55 to 75	Rye grass, English	30 to 42
Ditto, white	—	Scotch	18 to 40
French, red	70 to 90	Tares, winter	—
Ditto, white	—	New	6 to 7 6d. pr bl.
Hempseed, small	40 to 45	Large, foreign	—
Large	48 to 50	Rapeseed, English, new	36l. to 40l. pr last.

PROVISIONS, LONDON, March 14.

We had a quiet market last week, and less business was done; arising perhaps in some degree from many parties in town and country waiting to know what alterations might be made in the duties on foreign provisions, and what effect those alterations were likely to have on Irish produce. There is nothing new to report of Irish butter, the prices being without alteration. A short supply of prime foreign makes; Friesland in request at 120s. to 126s. per cwt. The demand for bacon is chiefly limited to purchases for present consumption; not much selling on board, and we do not vary our last quotations. The same remarks apply equally to bales and tierce middles. In hams and lard no amendment in demand or price. No change in pork or beef.

HOPS, BROUGH, March 14.

The hop market is very steady at firm prices for the best qualities, and is upon the whole in a healthy state.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, March 14.

We have again to notice a very dull sale for beef, but a better demand for mutton. As the supply of beasts was large, numbers were turned out unsold. Mutton sold very steadily at the rates of last Friday, and nearly all sold. The supply of sheep was good. The trade for veal and pork was much the same.

Beef	3s. 2d. to 4s. 4d.	Veal	4s. 8d. to 5s. 8d.
Mutton	3 4 to 4 10	Pork	4 6 to 5 2
Lamb	6s. 0d. to 7s. 2d.		

Beasts	Sheep	Calves	Pigs
Friday	722	2,540	118
Monday	3,242	23,800	70

NEWGATE and LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, March 14.

Inferior Beef	2s. 8d. to 2s. 10d.	Inferior Mutton	3s. 4d. to 3s. 6d.
Middling ditto	3 0 to 3 2	Middling ditto	3 8 to 3 10
Prime large ditto	3 2 to 3 4	Prime ditto	4 0 to 4 6
Prime small ditto	3 4 to 3 6	Veal	4 8 to 5 8
Large Pork	3 10 to 4 4	Small Pork	4 8 to 5 2
Lamb	5s. 8d. to 7s. 2d.		

POTATOES, SOUTHWARK, March 14.

Arrivals during the past week:—from Scotland, 1745 tons; Yorkshire, 955; Jersey and Guernsey, 310; Devons, 115; Kent and Essex, 134; total, 3259 tons. Large quantities remain unsold of former arrivals; best samples only are in request.

York Reds	per ton 50s. to 70s.	Wisbeach	per ton —s. to —s.
Scotch	40 to 50	Jersey and Guernsey Blues	40 to 50
Irish	40 to 50	Jersey Whites	— to —
Devons	50 to 55	Kent, Essex, and Suffolk Whites	45 to 55

WOOL, March 14.

Sales during the present week have been limited to the immediate requirements of the manufacturers, and last week's prices have been with difficulty maintained.

Down teggs	1s. 0d. to 1s. 1d.	Half-bred wethers	0s. 11d. to 1s. 0d.
Half-bred hogs	1 1 to 1 2	Leicester hogs	0 10 to 1 0
Down ewes and weth.	0 10 to 0 11	Leicester wethers	0 9 to 0 10

HAY, SMITHFIELD, March 12.—At per load of 86 trusses.

Coarse Meadow Hay	70s. to 75s.	New Clover Hay	—s. to —s.
New ditto	—	Old ditto	90 to 110
Useful old ditto	80 to 84	Oat Straw	38 to 40
Fine Upland and Rye Grass	85 to 90	Wheat Straw	40 to 42

COAL EXCHANGE, March 14.

Hartlepool's, 21s.; Caspoff's, 21s.; Hetton's, 21s.; Lambton's, 20s. 6d.; Stewart's, 21s. 6d. Number of ships arrived, 462.

GROCERIES, TUESDAY, March 15.

TEA.—There was little activity in the market for free trade tea, and some holders were disposed to realise. Of the total quantity passed the sales, amounting to 11,800 packages, only 4,000 found purchasers at a reduction on last sales rates, of 4d. for Congou, 4d. for Twankay, and 1d. for Pouchong. All other sorts went at 1d. cheaper. Company's Congou flat at 1s. 10d. to 1s. 11d. per lb.

COFFEE.—The home trade were anxious to purchase coffee of all clean descriptions; but of West India the supply at market was far from adequate for the demand. The public sales were well attended, and fine kinds brought high prices.

SUGAR.—There was more activity in the sugar market, and purchases would have been on a larger scale if the market had been better supplied; the prices paid were 2s. above those of Friday for all descriptions; middling yellow Jamaica fetched 61s., and the market closed with a firm appearance.

TALLOW.—It is difficult to get P. Y. Candle under 48s. 6d. on the spot. The large quantity of 1,000 packages South American is declared for sale on Friday, besides 200 casks Russia.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

LEICESTER COMPLETE SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

At a Meeting of the SUBSCRIBERS to the DECLARATION of Mr STURGE, held at the Town Hall, Leicester, on the 14th inst., the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

"I. That an association be now formed, to be called The Leicester Complete Suffrage Association."

"II. That the Constitution of the Association shall consist of the following Articles."

"Article 1. That every man, with the exceptions hereafter specified, who has attained the age of legal majority, is entitled to vote in the election of members of parliament."

"Article 2. That the exceptions be as follow: 1. All persons suffering under penalty of law; 2. All persons proved to be insane."

[The length of residence and other details were left to be considered at the approaching convention of deputies at Birmingham.]

"Article 3. That all male persons above the age of 18 shall be eligible as members of the association."

"Article 4. That the token of membership shall be the possession of a ticket having the first and second articles printed thereon, the same to be duly signed by the secretary, and bearing the member's name. The tickets shall not be less than sixpence, and not transferable."

"Article 5. That no motion be entertained, and no subject discussed, at the meetings of the association but such as are directly connected with its main purpose; namely, the complete extension and consolidation of equal political rights."

"Article 6. That any member who shall violate any of the articles of the association, or who shall disturb the order of the meetings, shall, on the decision of a majority of members convened to a special meeting for the purpose within fourteen days thereof, cease to be a member of the association."

"Article 7. That the business of the association shall be managed by a committee of 25 of its members, to be chosen annually by ballot, who shall elect their own officers. Any five of the committee shall be a quorum."

"Article 8. That a general meeting of the association be held annually, on the last Monday in February, when a statement of the affairs, and a report of the proceedings shall be submitted."

"Article 9. That none of the foregoing articles shall be altered except by a special general meeting, of which at least seven days' notice shall be given, specifying the purpose for which it is called, and two-thirds of the votes of the meeting shall be requisite to effect any such alteration."

"III. That the foregoing articles of constitution be advertised in the *Nonconformist*, the *Sun*, the *Leicester-shire Mercury*, and the *Leicester Chronicle*."

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